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Not All Scholars, But Gentlemen: The Making of Virginian Manhood at St. Christopher's School, 1911-1969

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NOT ALL SCHOLARS, BUT GENTLEMEN: THE MAKING OF VIRGINIAN MANHOOD AT ST. CHRISTOPHER'S SCHOOL, 1911-1969

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ABSTRACT

Through close study of St. Christopher's School—an all-boys' school in Richmond, Virginia—during its first fifty years, this thesis historicizes upper-class white masculinity in Virginia during the first half of the twentieth century. The school's founder, Churchill Gibson Chamberlayne, linked the Lost Cause myth with other movements in education at the time, especially Muscular Christianity and the country day school movement. By looking at how students and administrators at St. Christopher's made and remade traditions surrounding notions of masculinity, in addition to more muted manifestations of gender at the school, illuminate the existence of a gender hierarchy even before gender integration. In the 1960s, the school participated in a curriculum exchange with its sister school, St. Catherine's, which caused a considerable backlash from St. Christopher's students. St. Christopher's boys appropriated the language of Virginian segregationists to address women taking a few classes at their school, vowing to protect the exclusively male spaces they cherished. The thesis additionally investigates how both St. Catherine's and St. Christopher's students reacted to racial integration at their schools, revealing the role whiteness played in their conceptions of gender.

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INTRODUCTION: HISTORICIZING UPPER-CLASS SOUTHERN MASCULINITY

In 1962, Lowndes Wilson, president of the art club at St. Christopher's School in Richmond, Virginia described the end of an era in his article in the school newspaper, *The Pine Needle*. That era was fifty years of all-male classes at this private boys' school. At the beginning of the 1961-1962 school year, St. Christopher's administrators announced a few young women from their sister school of St. Catherine's would be taking advanced courses in science and math at their school. Wilson addressed his fellow classmates with the following, "When it was first brought to my attention that girls would be attending the advanced classes, I immediately realized they would be trying to pry their way into this sacred cultural society."[1] The language of the article suggests that this message was at least partially satirical, including the premise that membership in the art club was not a mark of achievement and therefore women's attempt to insert themselves was no cause for concern.

Even if it was satirical, Wilson's article reflected a sentiment shared by a vocal contingent in the student body at the school—St. Catherine's students who came to attend classes were invading a male space and trying to force their influence on it. His proposal to consider admitting women was not without the stipulations that "If admitted, girls will not be allowed to cry! (upon realizing their inferiority, and lack of ability or some such reason) and beat their gums."[2] He used this opportunity to joke that this club that lacked academic rigor would

[1] Lowndes Wilson, "The Art Club President Greets Girls," *The Pine Needle*, June 7-8 1962, 5.
[2] Wilson, 5.

intellectually challenge women. Although he was open to extending membership to women, Wilson looked fondly at the long past of the school with only male students, asserting, "We are proud that we are the last of the hardened old time students, not tainted by female integration."[3] Wilson's article was one of many that illuminate how the students, faculty, and administration of St. Christopher's School created a sacred masculine space through the production of traditions, curriculum, and gender organization during its first fifty years. Their fear of St. Catherine's women show how affluent white women threatened male hegemony in the school.

This thesis seeks to understand how St. Christopher's School constructed notions of upper-class white southern masculinity from the 1910s to the 1960s. Although historians have argued that upper-class white masculinity in the South continued to point backwards to an imagined past of antebellum genteel paternalism, this common historical narrative obscures the ways in which masculinity for this group was—in fact—historical and changing.[4] Scholarship on education and white masculinity in the twentieth century South has usually focused on middle and lower-class white reactions to racial integration of public schools in the Deep South.[5] Since white students at private schools did not face large scale racial integration of their schools, their voices and claims to masculinity and white supremacy are less salient in these historical narratives, as federal and state governments did not have the power to integrate private schools.

The entrance of St. Catherine's students created a palpable threat to upper-class white male hegemony at St. Christopher's, and thus presents a site for understanding the construction

[3] Ibid.
[4] J. Douglas Smith, *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politics, and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 4; see Friend and Glover, *Southern Masculinity:Perspectives on Manhood in the South since Reconstruction*, xi-xiii; for scholarship on masculinity in Richmond see Matthew Mace Barbee, *Race and Masculinity in Southern Memory*.
[5] Steve Estes, "A Question of Honor: Masculinity and Massive Resistance to Integration," in *White Masculinity in the Recent* South, edited by Trent Watts, 99-120, Baton Rouge: LousianaState University Press, 2008.

and maintenance of gender regimes throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Gender integration created a crisis of masculinity in a group that historically enjoyed racial, class, and gender dominance in state politics, business, and culture. This rupture helps to reveal how important exclusive male spaces were to the young men at St. Christopher's, and how they viewed white women were viewed as more threatening than African American men to lives of these young men. Appropriating the language of Virginia's segregationists, students feared the invasion of young women might cause their male supremacy in the classroom, on the athletic field, and in college admissions to unravel.

To better the tumultuous 1960s at St. Christopher's, this thesis begins before the founding of the school—tracing the life of its founder and first headmaster, Churchill Gibson Chamberlayne. The son of a Confederate veteran, Chamberlayne's life provides a narrative to understand the history of private education, white masculinity, and the Lost Cause in Virginia. Chamberlayne implemented traditions and a curriculum designed to inculcate notions of masculinity at the school, in addition to organizing it a manner that reinforced white male dominance in the space. Student culture throughout the decades recreated and maintained these notions of manhood following Chamberlayne's death in 1939. Only through investigation of the school before women's entrance is it clear why the curriculum exchange created so much anxiety among St. Christopher's students.

This thesis draws upon different and oftentimes overlapping historiographical currents related to the Lost Cause, masculinity, education, and tradition. Charles Reagan Wilson's *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* highlights the ways religious denominations embraced and promoted elements of the Lost Cause. The Episcopal Church recruited former Confederate generals to teach at the University of the South in Tennessee, and

St. Paul's Church in Richmond commemorated the Confederacy through stained glass depictions of soldiers and markers for Jefferson Davis. Wilson also notes that a number of Confederate generals founded or taught at a growing number of schools in the South following the war. In addition to highlighting the role of the Lost Cause in education and the Episcopal Church, Wilson's scholarship helps to contextualize the work of Chamberlayne's father, as well as the ritualistic elements of the Lost Cause related to traditions at St. Christopher's.

Karen L. Cox's *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Southern Culture* is useful for thinking about men's role in the Lost Cause at the turn of the century. Cox argues that women were most active in Confederate commemorative through their efforts to memorialize the Confederate dead by sponsoring the building of monuments and creating curricula that indoctrinated white children in the Lost Cause. They believed that children could then become "'living monuments' to the Confederacy" who would defend states' rights and white supremacy in the future.[6] In their efforts to promote the Lost Cause movement, the women of the UDC, Cox argues, grew frustrated by men who bought into the gospel of the New South. These men were complacent to preserve the memory of the Confederate dead and promote the Lost Cause. She asserts that "New Men were much less likely than their female contemporaries to see their Confederate fathers, the defeated, as role models," as they focused more on their success in business and politics in the New South.[7] Her analysis of southern men during the early twentieth century does not fit Churchill Chamberlayne, as he actively participated in Confederate commemoration, infused his school with notions of the Lost

[6] Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughter's: The United Daughter's of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Southern Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 120.
[7] Ibid., 46 and 5.

Cause, and combined this with forward facing Progressive education connected to broader movements occurring along the East Coast.

In addition to studies on the Lost Cause, Gail Bederman's foundational work on the construction of white masculinity in the Progressive Era provides a framework for historicizing masculinity. Her book was met with a call from historians of the American South to build on her scholarship. Drawing upon the work of gender theorists such as Joan Scott, Bederman's *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*, argues that manhood "is a *historical, ideological process*" and that "gender is dynamic and always changing."[8] Bederman's work provides a model through which to historicize masculinity, and how masculinity in crisis provides a site to illuminate masculinity is neither static nor inherent. A decade after Bederman's work, several anthologies on masculinity in both the antebellum and the twentieth century South have helped diversify our understanding of masculinity and how it is constructed and varies with regard to race and class.[9] Historians of southern masculinity have typically focused on lower and middle-class masculinities in the rural South, and have tended to avoid addressing upper-class white masculinity in depth, especially in the Upper South and more urban coastal areas. These men, they argue, asserted their legitimacy through continued appeals to the gender, class, and racial order of the plantation system of the antebellum South.[10] Although these men often did claim a shared heritage with the genteel planters of the eighteenth century, it is important to investigate how notions of tradition

[8] Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in America, 1880-1917* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 7.
[9] See Friend and Glover, *Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South*; Friend and Glover, *Southern Masculinity: Perspectives on Manhood in the South since Reconstruction*; Watts, *White Masculinity in the Recent South*.
[10] See Barbee,*Race and Masculinity in Southern Memory*; For a summary on scholarship regarding mastery and paternalism in the South, see Creech, "The Price of Eternal Honor: Independent White Christian Manhood in the Late Nineteenth Century South," 27-30, in Friend, *Southern Masculinity*.

functioned to obscure the way in which wealthy white men altered their gender regime to maintain hegemony in the South. Accepting the claims of elite white men at face value continues to obscure the process of gender in this community.

Axel Bundgaard's study of masculinity and sports at boys' boarding schools complements studies of masculinity in the twentieth century South. *Muscle and Manliness: The Rise of Sport in American Boarding Schools* illustrates how headmasters of all-male boarding schools on the East Coast and Mid-Atlantic began to incorporate models of organized sports into their schools. He argues that sports appealed to headmasters, because they saw them as avenues for the development of "manly character."[11] While Bundgaard's history mostly focuses on New England schools, it includes two elite all-male boarding schools in Virginia. His work shows how schools in Virginia participated in the development of sports programs in the same way as their Northeast counterparts, connecting the state to educational movements outside the South.[12] His book also provides a more comprehensive study on the organization of boarding schools at the turn of the century and the educational philosophies of their headmasters.

Matthew Mace Barbee's hyper local study of masculinity and race in Richmond, illustrates the ways in which many scholars of masculinity have characterized upper-class white masculinity in the city as relatively unchanging. In *Race and Masculinity in Southern Memory: History of Richmond, Virginia's Monument Avenue: 1948-1996*, he analyzes how Monument Avenue has served as a reflection of public memory in Richmond regarding race in masculinity for over a century. He does so by primarily focusing on the debates that surrounded the erection of a monument to honor decorated African American tennis player Arthur Ashe. Despite his in-

[11] Axel Bundgaard, *Muscle and Manliness: The Rise of Sport in American Boarding Schools* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2005), 192.
[12] Ibid.,132.

depth analysis of Ashe's conservative brand of black middle-class southern masculinity, Barbee's handling of white southern masculinity is less illustrative. He argues that values of "heroic principled, aristocratic visions of white, Southern masculinity" were recycled in the varying debates or appeals to segregation, national identity, and reaction to the Civil Rights movement, and those "values would remain static as the modes of their expression adapted and evolved in order to maintain hegemony."[13] Barbee's work provides an opportunity to look further into the changing gender regimes of Richmond's elite.

Much of the scholarship on private education in the South in the twentieth century has focused on the desegregation of public schools and white resistance in the form of post-*Brown* segregation academies. Virginia was a prominent battleground state as a site of white resistance, and historical scholarship has amply documented the battles of integration and the proliferation of segregation academies in the 1960s, especially in Prince Edward County in central Virginia.[14] Recent scholarship by Michelle A. Purdy documenting the integration of an elite independent school helps to open up the field of private education in the South to include schools that were not created in reaction to *Brown*. Purdy argues that these private institutions blurred the lines between public and private as they often served dual purposes of instituting policies in response to the broader educational climate and political pressure, but could also serve to avoid public desegregation.[15] Her research focuses on the experiences of the first African American students to integrate the Westminster School in Atlanta, and her oral history work also sheds light on the nature of white culture of elite private schools in the South and documents their responses to

[13] Barbee, 179.
[14] See William P. Hustwit, *James J. Kilpatrick: Salesman for Segregation*, Pratt, *The Color of Their Skin*, Gates, *The Making of Massive Resistance*.
[15] Michelle A. Purdy,*Transforming the Elite: Black Students and the Desegregation of Private Schools* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018),3.

integration. *Transforming the Elite* additionally illuminates the history of the National Association of Independent Schools, which St. Christopher's School eventually joined, and argues that "it was in the interest of white independent school leaders to side with the civil rights movement," who "distinguished itself from post-*Brown* segregationist academies."[16] Purdy's work helps explain why St. Christopher's students seemed more amenable to the racial integration of their school.

Despite the role of all-boys' boarding schools in New England in educating some of the most prominent American leaders and businessmen, few historians in recent decades have researched and published on the history of these schools. Sociologists have done a better job of investigating single-sex boarding schools, but the most influential works have focused on class more than gender.[17] Raphaelle Steinzeig's dissertation, *America's Heirs Presumptive: Boys' Boarding Schools in New England, 1877-1938* provides a synthesis of the history of these schools that is useful in helping to understand how the organization, student backgrounds, and regional influences made St. Christopher's similar or different from other private schools.

This thesis additionally employs theory about tradition and memory to assist in uncovering the processes that created gender on the St. Christopher's campus. Eric Hobsbawn's scholarship provides a model for understanding how the construction of traditions "attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past."[18] Looking at how St. Christopher's students and faculty invented traditions additionally to make their school appear older, which assisted in

[16] Purdy, 179-80.
[17] For a discussion of sociological scholarship on New England boarding schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, especially the arguments of E. Digby Baltzell and James McLachlan regarding class formation and boarding schools see Raphaelle Steinzig, "America's Heirs Presumptive: Boys' Boarding Schools in New England, 1877–1938," (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2013),3-8, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.
[18]Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1.

adding value and legitimacy to the school. Understanding how they constructed tradition is an important foundation upon which to understand how St. Catherine's students threatened these traditions, and in turn their claim on their school.

In addition to analyzing tradition, this thesis highlights the processes by which St. Christopher's School created notions of masculinity through its curriculum and a gender division of labor. R.W. Connell's work on masculinity and education has provided a useful framework for understanding how schools create notions of gender and masculinity. Connell argues that the gender division of labor and the nature of authority at schools work to construct ideas about masculinity and power, which are apparent in the sources on St. Christopher's School, where women held administrative positions or were only hired to teach elementary students, and were formally excluded from participating as cheerleaders for athletic events.[19] Connell's work on how curriculum informs and perpetuates notions of manliness also assist in understanding how students and faculty at St. Christopher's structured and reordered the gender regime during the first five decades of the school.

The sources for this history come primarily from the school archives of St. Christopher's School. It relies heavily on articles from *The Pine Needle*, privileging the voices of those who served on the staff or contributed to the publication. Other school publications such as the school yearbook, *The Raps & Taps*, provided a wealth of information about school culture. The use of print culture at the school helps tell the story of dominant masculinity on St. Christopher's campus. Dissenters existed and sometimes made their opinions clear in *The Pine Needle*, but this

[19] Raewyn Connell, "Boys, masculinities and curricula. The construction of masculinity in practice-oriented subjects,"*ZEP : Zeitschrift für internationale Bildungsforschung und Entwicklungspädagogik* 28 (2005): S. 24.

thesis mainly focuses on the most common themes and trends especially with regard to gender and manhood at the school.

Using the school's archives likely obscured some information that could have supplemented this thesis, as I was supervised by the archivist and advised to refrain from searching through one box that included documents regarding "race and money." To better understand the broader institutional narrative I used two sources from the fiftieth and the one hundredth anniversaries of the school.[20] I relied more heavily on the fiftieth anniversary book as it drew mostly from *The Pine Needle*, often quoting primary sources directly. Factual inaccuracies in the centennial book made it less useful, and I tried to stay away from it except for information on school symbols, prayers, and hymns. In addition to the school archives, this thesis additionally relied on publicly accessible archives from the Virginia Museum of History and Culture, which included Chamberlayne's sermon notes and correspondence as headmaster at St. Christopher's. *The Richmond Times Dispatch*, one of the city papers, helped connect what was happening at St. Christopher's to events occurring in the city of Richmond.

Chapter One follows the life of Churchill Gibson Chamberlayne, the school's founder, to better understand the world in which he grew up and founded St. Christopher's. It draws heavily on historical scholarship on gender and the Lost Cause, as well as education in post-Reconstruction Virginia. Chamberlayne provides a means to understand the lack of clear boundaries between private educational organizations and public education in the state during this era. In highlighting educators in the state, the chapter explores how the University of

[20] The school's fiftieth anniversary book is Hankins, *The First Fifty Years* and the one hundredth anniversary book is Gemmill and Bellury, *St. Christopher's School: scholars and gentlemen*.

Virginia and legislators in the state house championed eugenics. The chapter also includes a brief history of the first few years of the school.

Chapter Two uses theories of invented tradition and gendered curriculum to understand how St. Christopher's created and enforced notions of gender and masculinity in its first fifty years. It charts how St. Christopher's students and faculty both subtly and explicitly reinforced normative masculinity at the school. A gender division of labor and all-male cheerleading created a gender hierarchy at the school. Chamberlayne and the students invented traditions to reinforce their claim to white supremacy and male hegemony. Some of these traditions, along with the curriculum itself, blatantly advertised their role in inculcating notions of upper-class white manhood.

Chapter Three begins with the reaction of St. Christopher's students to limited gender integration at their school. It highlights how they appropriated the language of white segregationists in the state, in response to the presence of these young women at their school. The chapter introduces a brief history of St. Catherine's to highlight the changes occurring at their school, including burgeoning cultural feminist impulses. Looking at the reaction of St. Christopher's students to the racial integration of their school in comparison to gender integration shows how St. Christopher's students felt more threatened by a future of co-education with white women than with African American men. St. Christopher's students reacted to racial integration in a more subdued manner in order to distinguish themselves from lower and middle-class white Virginians.

St. Christopher's School provides a case study to understand how boys in Virginia were educated to be future leaders. Studying St. Christopher's School from its founding in 1911 until the late 1960s provides the opportunity to reveal how the era of its founding affected school

traditions, but also to historicize traditions and resist accepting them at face value. This is especially important when looking at traditions that enforce normative ideas about gender and masculinity, as it creates a facade that gender was static among elite white men because they claimed their masculinity was the same as their forefathers. The gender integration of St. Christopher's in the sixties additionally offers a moment in which the underpinnings of white male hegemony at the school—ideas that men were more ambitious and intelligent than women and therefore should control the campus—were beginning to unravel. Although histories of integration often focus on the threat of racial integration in public schools to white manhood in the South, St. Christopher's offers another narrative in which young women caused a crisis of masculinity and fear among otherwise unchallenged wealthy white young men.

I. CHURCHILL GIBSON CHAMBERLAYNE AND EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA

"The Reverend Dr. Churchill Gibson Chamberlayne laid hands upon the Rock of Ages and sculpted his school out of it."
- Author Tom Wolfe, St. Christopher's School Class of 1947

Introduction

In June of 1912 in Richmond, Virginia, Dr. Churchill Gibson Chamberlayne addressed his students during the Chamberlayne School for Boy's first commencement ceremony. "We in this school are proud of many things; among them that of being gentlemen."[21] Even with all of the stress of taking out loans for the school property, furnishing the old house for students in a couple of months, and recruiting his first class of students, Chamberlayne's mission was clear: to transform boys into men. The following chapter explores Churchill Chamberlayne's life, his formative influences, his founding of the Chamberlayne School for Boys, later renamed St. Christopher's School, and the world in which he lived, worked, and published historical scholarship. His world contributed to how he conceptualized southern manhood and infused it into St. Christopher's School.

[21] Susan Gemmill and Philip Rob Bellury, *St. Christopher's School: scholars and gentlemen* (Atlanta: Storyline Group, 2011), 32.

The life and work of Chamberlayne is key to understanding the history of St. Christopher's School, not only because Chamberlayne was its founder, but also because his persona was integral to school culture long after his death. He came to embody the school's conception of elite white southern manhood. One student who matriculated two years after Chamberlayne's passing remembered, "It was amazing. You could watch Churchill Gibson Chamberlayne at work posthumously, as if he were right there."[22] While Chamberlayne created many traditions at the school during his tenure, future leaders and students of St. Christopher's continued to invoke Chamberlayne's spirit as they made changes and added to traditions in the school culture and curriculum. "Doctor," as his students fondly referred to him, constructed what it meant to be a St. Christopher's boy, and in the subsequent years his legacy was recalled in forming new ideals of manliness.[23] One teacher remembered Chamberlayne, writing, "Other monuments will rise—we know that. But the great monument to our Doctor Chamberlayne is all around us, and in our own hearts."[24]

Chamberlayne lived during a time when Lost Cause ideology persisted in the Commonwealth, and educational opportunities were expanding for white students in the state. Reformers across the South prioritized education, believing it would prepare the region for industrial and economic development. When he founded St. Christopher's, progressive educators at the University of Virginia were invested in making it a flagship university in the state and across the country. Upper-class white Virginians involved in politics and education rebranded their white supremacy by promoting eugenics during this era. The educational climate and racial

[22] Tom Wolfe, "The Centennial," in *St. Christopher's School: scholars and gentlemen* (Atlanta: Storyline Group, 2011), 9.
[23]De Witt Hankins, *The First Fifty Years: A History of St. Christopher's School, 1911-1961* (Richmond, VA: St. Christopher's School Foundation, 1961), 136.
[24] Ibid., 135.

politics of Virginia contextualized his worldview, and help to explain why Chamberlayne structured St. Christopher's the way that he did.

Biography

Churchill Gibson Chamberlayne was born in Richmond, Virginia in 1876 to Virginian parents. His father, John Hampden Chamberlayne, was a former officer in the Confederate army, the owner and publisher of the *Richmond State* newspaper, and a representative in the Virginia House of Delegates. Churchill Chamberlayne grew up in the Episcopal Church, as his maternal uncle was the bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia. When Churchill was only six years old, his father died of pneumonia, but his father's memory remained influential in his dedication to the Lost Cause.[25] At an early age, Chamberlayne proved himself to be an exceptional student as he studied at McCabe's University School. After completing his secondary education, he attended the University of Virginia, completing his B.A. in 1901. He then matriculated in the Virginia Theological Seminary, and eventually was ordained as an Episcopal Priest. In 1904 he moved to Germany to study History and German, and earned his M.A. and PhD. from the University of Halle-Wittenburg. He wrote his dissertation in German on the marriage of Anne of Luxembourg to English King Richard II.[26]

After receiving his advanced degrees, Chamberlayne returned to the U.S. in 1906 where he worked for the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia as a chaplain at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville, Virginia. He then moved to Baltimore to teach at the first country day school, the Gilman School for Boys. After marrying Elizabeth Bolling in 1911, he decided to move back to his hometown to establish a private school for boys, The Chamberlayne School for Boys. In

[25]Robert F. Strohm, "Chamberlayne, John Hampden" in *Dictionary of Virginia Biography* , ed. Sara B. Bearss (Richmond: Library of Virginia, 2006), 147.
[26] J. Franklin Jameson, "Notes and News," *The American Historical Review* 12, no.3 (1907):709.

addition to his role as a school administrator and teacher, Chamberlayne frequently contributed to the Virginia Historical Society's scholarly journal, the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, and published two history books that offered analysis of a wealth of primary sources. He published a book of his father's Civil War letters, *Ham Chamberlayne--Virginian; letters and papers of an artillery officer in the War for Southern Independence, 1861-1865* in 1932, and transcribed the vestry books of eight different Episcopal parishes in Virginia. He remained dedicated to the Episcopal Church his entire life, passing away from leukemia at his home on the St. Christopher's campus in 1939.[27]

Defining Virginia's Manhood Before and After the Civil War

Churchill Chamberlayne's efforts at St. Christopher's School were part of a longer legacy of redefining upper-class, southern white masculinity, led by Virginians since before the outset of the Civil War. Beginning in the 1850s, a younger generation of men in the Commonwealth began to redefine manhood in the state. Historian Peter S. Carmichael argues that as their neighboring states in the North began to industrialize, the sons of the last generation of Virginia slaveholders recognized their financial and intellectual wellbeing in the future relied on increasing industrialization. Fallen from its previous political and intellectual influence during the Revolutionary era, the Commonwealth's political voices began to advocate for increased state investment in education even before the outset of the Civil War. While white men in more rural areas of the South may have continued to glorify masculinity in the form of the planter, Carmichael illustrates how Virginians even before the war began to redefine masculinity, "They

[27] Robert F. Strohm, "Chamberlayne, Churchill Gibson" in *Dictionary of Virginia Biography* , ed. Sara B. Bearss (Richmond: Library of Virginia, 2006), 145-6.

no longer aspired to the aristocratic ease of a southern gentleman but instead admired an aggressive, career-driven man who sought public recognition through innovation and reform."[28]

Following the war, the next generation of men in the Old Dominion paid homage to their antebellum past, but reinvisioned the ideal Virginia gentleman as motivated and entrepreneurial. This generation venerated Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson as Christian models, but highlighted their administrative skills within the army as successful tools for an increasingly industrialized American capitalist economy.[29] Alongside industrial development, education was seen as the only way that Virginia could compete with the North and revive itself from the depression that followed the Civil War.[30] This context provides a backdrop for understanding the Chamberlayne family. Ham Chamberlayne became an advocate for education in Virginia following the war, campaigning for increased state funding for education. He criticized the lack of public schools in his home state before the war, claiming it made the state an "ignoramus."[31] Ham Chamberlayne was part of a contingent of advocacy for public education buttressed by Confederate veterans and conservatives. These advocates for public education hearkened back to the post-Revolutionary era in the state as evidence that education had the ability to stabilize post-war society. Virginian Progressives, then, adapted the Lost Cause message to fit within this existing campaign for industrial growth and increased funding for public education.

Richmond's Lost Cause and Influential Men:

Born in Richmond, Virginia, and educated in Petersburg, Virginia, Churchill Chamberlayne grew up in the last two capitals of the Confederacy, where reminders of

[28] Peter S. Carmichael, "New South Visionaries: Virginia's Last Generation of Slaveholders, the Gospel of Progress, and the Lost Cause," in *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, edited by Gallagher, Gary W. and Alan T. Nolan,(Bloomington : Indiana University Press, 2010), 114.
[29] Carmichael, 121.
[30] Ibid., 119.
[31] Ibid., 122-3.

Confederate defeat were omnipresent. [32] Massive pillars jutted out from the rapids of the James River in the heart of the city that previously supported the Richmond Petersburg Railroad bridge which soldiers had burned in the Confederate retreat. Two years prior to Churchill's birth, Union troops departed the state, and as Charles Reagan Wilson writes, "Richmond became the eternal city of Southern dreams."[33] Despite defeat, Confederate veterans made pilgrimages to the city for reunions, parades, and monument unveilings to honor their former military commanders. Richmond was home to Hollywood Cemetery, a maze of mausoleums and massive monuments to the Confederate dead and future burial ground of Confederate president Jefferson Davis. In addition to memorials to the dead, it also contained prominent sites such as the South's Battle Abbey, the White House of the Confederacy, and a regionally influential chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.[34] In the 1890s developers slowly created Monument Avenue, a planned promenade to honor Confederate generals and Jefferson Davis in the form of towering monuments on marble pedestals over the course of Chamberlayne's lifetime. After the federal government abandoned Reconstruction just after Chamberlayne's birth, Southerners proclaimed its failure and Richmond became "the center of Lost Cause activity."[35] Living in Richmond, Chamberlayne was surrounded by, and committed to what he believed to be the Great Cause that framed his formative years and would further inform his worldview into adulthood. His two most influential mentors, his father and headmaster, defended Confederate memory until their deaths.

[32] Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Jackson, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 118.
Robert F. Strohm, "Chamberlayne, Churchill Gibson," 145.
[33] Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause 1865-1920* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980), 18-9.
[34] Wilson, 18.
[35] Ibid., 34.

Both Chamberlayne's father, John Hampden "Ham" Chamberlayne, and his secondary school instructor, Gordon McCabe, fought for the Confederate States of America in the Army of Northern Virginia. Churchill's father fought under Robert E. Lee, and was known for refusing to surrender at Appomattox.[36] Both men spent the years following the war preaching about their righteous cause, and committed to ensuring its memory remained present for subsequent generations through published work and public lectures.[37] Often referred to by their formal military titles granted in service to the Confederacy, Capt. Chamberlayne and Capt. McCabe carried their obligation to the Lost Cause into their daily work as well. Elected to the state House of Delegates in 1879, the senior Chamberlayne was committed to fighting the Readjuster party, a biracial Republican coalition made possible both by the Union victory and Reconstruction.[38] McCabe frequently referred to the Confederacy in his personal correspondence, even going so far as to teaching his grandchildren to salute Robert E. Lee's statue on their drives along Monument Ave.[39]

There is no doubt that Churchill Chamberlayne heeded the call of both McCabe and Ham Chamberlayne to ensure subsequent generations recognized the sacrifice of their forefathers. His father specifically called for memorialization in the form of "time-defying" bronze statues in a speech on Robert E. Lee's character.[40] Authority in the classroom, along with the religious influence of former chaplain McCabe reminded Churchill of the bloodshed, the bravery, and the just cause the men of his homeland had fought for and continued to uphold despite their desire

[36] Robert F. Strohm, "Chamberlayne, John Hampden," 146.
[37] Capt. John Hampden Chamberlayne, "Address on the Character of Gen. Robert E. Lee," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Jan 1877, 37.
Capt. W. Gordon McCabe, "The defence of Petersburg" (lecture, Virginia Division of the Army of Northern Virginia, Richmond,Va, Nov 1, 1876).
[38] Strohm, "Chamberlayne, John Hampden," 147.
[39] Armistead C. Gordon, "William Gordon McCabe: A Brief Memoir,"*The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 28, No. 2 (1920): 200.
[40] Capt. John Hampden Chamberlayne, 37.

for reconciliation.[41] In addition to their obsession with making right the failures of the Confederacy in the past, they looked toward a brighter future for Virginia. They believed expanded education in the state could speed Virginia's recovery following the Civil War and Reconstruction. McCabe operated his school for over thirty years, opening it only months after Confederate defeat at Appomattox.[42] Even though Churchill's father died when he was only six years old, Churchill Chamberlayne would go on to found a school bearing the influence of his father's life and the causes his father held dear. The influence of both McCabe's University School and his father's work is apparent in his dedication to honoring their legacy.[43]

The men that Chamberlayne admired, and in turn the men that they themselves venerated, would contour the curriculum, traditions, and conceptualizations of masculinity woven into the framework of St. Christopher's. Although he did not step foot on a battlefield, Chamberlayne lauded the Confederate soldier and infused his school with circulating Lost Cause ideology begun by his father's generation, the Daughters of the Confederacy, and his own personal scholarship on his father's experience in the Army of Northern Virginia.[44] Chamberlayne's religious work as an Episcopalian chaplain also helps to further illuminate the relationship between religion, the Lost Cause, and education. A study of the founding and structure of the Chamberlayne School For Boys provides further insight into how a new southern masculinity developed through Lost Cause ideology during the Progressive era linked northern Progressive ideas surrounding education, sports, and male character development to the examples of southern

[41] Strohm, "Chamberlayne, John Hampden," 147.
[42] Gordon, 201.
[43] Strohm, "Chamberlayne, Churchill Gibson," 145.

[44] Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters Of The Confederacy And The Preservation Of Confederate Culture,* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003.

gentlemen of Lee and Jackson. Lost Cause ideology and notions of masculinity were then given particular ritualistic significance with the infusion on Episcopalian religion at the school.

Chamberlayne's Lost Cause

Although Chamberlayne did not grow up with his father, it is clear that Chamberlayne respected the causes of his late father. This is starkly evident in his published biographical work of *Ham Chamberlayne--Virginian*.[45] In the introduction, Churchill tells of a young Ham, who was eager to defend his home state on the brink of the Civil War, and was just as committed to the cause following Confederate defeat, "His love for Virginia was the moving passion of his life, and no less so in the seemingly hopeless period of Reconstruction."[46] Chamberlayne employed gendered language by comparing his father's adoration of the state to that of a lover, saying, "no woman, however much she meant to him, held the first place in Ham Chamberlayne's heart. That place was reserved for his native State, Virginia."[47] Ham's dedication to the Commonwealth's future resulted in his political involvement as a delegate in the statehouse fighting the growing political power of African Americans and Republicans in the state legislature.[48]

Churchill Chamberlayne's embarking on the project to document his father's Civil War letters tells us many things about his life and his relationship to his father. Although he lacked firsthand memories of his father promoting the Lost Cause, he continued his father's work. First, Chamberlayne's book of his father's wartime letters tells us that Churchill attended Confederate veterans' reunions in order to collect the letters that he compiled to for this book. [49] Secondly, it

[45] C.G. Chamberlayne, *Ham Chamberlayne--Virginian; letters and papers of an artillery officer in the War for Southern Independence, 1861-1865*.Richmond: The Dietz Printing Co., 1932.
[46]C.G. Chamberlayne, viii.
[47] Ibid., viii.
[48] Ibid., ix.
[49] Ibid., 440.

shows that Churchill not only ascribed to the Lost Cause through his attendance of these events to honor his father, but also was an active creator in the movement into the 1930s. In the introduction to the collection, Churchill draws attention to seven points he wishes his readers to glean from reading his father's wartime correspondence, almost all of them related to major tenets of Lost Cause ideology.

His first four points concerned Lost Cause doctrine, including the morale of soldiers, their willingness to fight for the just Confederate cause, and their dedication to the war effort and commitment to serving Robert E. Lee.[50] Chamberlayne noted his father's "sober optimism as to the successful outcome of the struggle for Southern independence...which is in striking contrast to the spirit of the Confederate soldier as portrayed in certain works of fiction."[51] Publishing his father's letters was a chance to use primary documents to create scholarly history in defense of Lost Cause ideology. As scholarship on the Lost Cause has shown, one of the main arguments of the Lost Cause sought to combat narratives of Confederate deserters or claims that Confederate troops lacked conviction while fighting for the Confederacy.[52] He continued to deify Robert E. Lee, a message common in Lost Cause histories like fellow Richmonder Douglas Southall Freeman's work, which portrayed the general as "Christlike."[53] Chamberlayne's sixth point concerned the institution of slavery, one that he defended as benevolent and paternalistic as evidenced by "the reliance of masters upon the affectionate loyalty of their servants."[54] Forty years after the outset of the Civil War, Chamberlayne felt compelled to draw attention to another

[50] Ibid., xiii-xiv.
[51] Ibid., xiii.
[52] Gallagher and Jackson, 17, 24-25.
[53] Gallagher and Jackson, 18.
[54] C.G. Chamberlayne, xiv.

element of Lost Cause mythology embedded in his father's letters, that of the faithful and happy slave.[55]

Although nearly all of Chamberlayne's motivations for publishing his father's letters were transparently related to common themes of Lost Cause ideology and looked to the past, he additionally highlighted the education of his father to argue for the importance of education to the future of the region. He noted their "thorough acquaintance with literature (the Greek and Latin authors, Shakespeare, Milton, the English poets generally...and--above all--the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer)."[56] Central to Chamberlayne's conception of an ideal curriculum was knowledge of classical literature of antiquity, English literature, and not only the Bible, but a distinctly Anglican Book of Common Prayer. Chamberlayne linked the Lost Cause to greater themes of education, specifically Anglo-Saxon heritage and Anglophilia common in many male boarding schools at the time, as well as religion, especially Episcopal teachings. Using the example of his father's correspondence as a Confederate soldier, he critiqued the current state of education at the book's publishing in 1932, which he asserted was "narrower and more specialized," with no room for this liberal distribution of literature.[57]

Chamberlayne's tendency to apply the Lost Cause narrative to Virginia's educational future reflected a trend within the state of Virginia and the South. Of course, institutions of higher learning strongly tied to the Confederate cause began to crop up across the South within the decade after the Civil War's conclusion, most notably The University of the South, or Sewanee in Tennessee founded in 1857, and Washington College, later renamed Washington and Lee University, founded in 1749 in Virginia.[58] An Episcopal university, Sewanee was home to a

[55] Gallagher and Jackson, 16.
[56] C.G. Chamberlayne, xiv.
[57] C.G. Chamberlayne,xiv.
[58] Wilson, 145 and 154.

number of ex-Confederates that tethered the learning environment and Christian religion to the Lost Cause.[59] Washington College in Lexington, in Chamberlayne's home state, courted Robert E. Lee as their president, and created a chapel and crypt to house Lee's body after his death.[60] Lost Cause historian Charles Reagan Wilson has also noted that Episcopal High School in Alexandria, Virginia, which reopened following the war, was an exemplary embodiment of the Lost Cause secondary education. Hiring a former Confederate colonel as an associate principal who was "'the very embodiment of truth, honor, and chivalrous fidelity to duty,'" and the school's effort to glorify Lee and Stonewall Jackson as moral ideals may have provided a blueprint for Chamberlayne's future school.[61]

Gender and the Lost Cause

Peter S. Carmichael has asserted that the sons of the last slaveholders in Virginia, Ham Chamberlayne included, began to push for non-agrarian industry a decade before Southern secession from the Union. The case of Virginia, including both Chamberlayne men, therefore complicates foundational scholarship on gender and the Lost Cause. In *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters Of The Confederacy And The Preservation Of Confederate Culture,* Karen L. Cox argues that postbellum southern businessmen around the age of Churchill Chamberlayne became increasingly interested in promoting non-agrarian industry in the region. Those businessmen criticized the generation of men immediately following the Civil War for failing to provide for southern women and children.[62] These "New Men" focused on their business ventures as they hoped to rebrand the South as an industrial region. Their critique of their fathers

[59] Wilson, 146 and 148.
[60] Ibid., 152.
[61] Ibid., 143-4.
[62] Cox,45-46.

who grew up in the agrarian tradition was likely the reason they "may have been reluctant to take an active role in the Confederate celebration" that emphasized a return to an idealized agrarian South.[63]

At the same time that the New Men of the South began to pursue non-agrarian business ventures in the region, upper and middle-class women in the South followed a growing trend of women's growing public and political roles through the formation of their own organizations, creating a generation of "New Women" in the region.[64] The most influential of these women's organizations in the South was the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). Although veiled in preserving the memory and tradition of the Old South, they implemented Progressive reform in education.[65] The UDC pushed education of Confederate ideals in hopes that children would become "'living monuments' to the Confederacy."[66] They worked with grade school teachers to develop history lesson plans that vindicated the cause of their ancestors, believing that "the Lost Cause narrative...served as a political and social roadmap for the future.[67] Cox argues that New Women's dedication to honoring an idealized notion of the Old South, placed them in direct opposition to their male counterparts, creating a gendered divide with the movement of the Lost Cause.[68] She contends that "New Men were much less likely than their female contemporaries to see their Confederate fathers, the defeated, as role models."[69] New Women became the main leaders in the Lost Cause in the 1890s, and continually complained of men's failure to participate in their reform efforts.

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[63] Cox, 46.
For further reading on the Lost Cause and the New South see Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, especially Chapter 6, "Toward a New South:Social Tensions."and C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South.*
[64] Cox, 16 and 26.
[65] Cox, 26.
[66] Ibid., 120.
[67] Ibid., 121-122.
[68] Ibid., 45.
[69] Ibid., 46.

The UDC's educational efforts to approve textbooks and create curricula profoundly changed the educational landscape in Richmond from the 1890s to the first World War.[70] Yet Ham Chamberlayne also pushed for the expansion of public education beginning in the 1870s—a legacy his son continued into the Progressive Era. Churchill Chamberlayne does not fit into Cox's definition of New Men, in that he actively participated in the preservation of the Lost Cause, while still dedicated to the creation of a New South through his role as an educator. While Churchill Chamberlayne was not a businessman, he envisioned a new landscape for Virginia and grew up and lived the majority of his life in one of the South's more readily industrialized cities.[71] He was connected with broader educational movements on the East Coast, but did not turn his back on the Lost Cause, instead reframing it to fit his own vision of masculinity that he inculcated in his students at St. Christopher's.

The Country Day School Movement and the Founding of The Chamberlayne School

In the same way that Virginia policymakers and public figures developed a unique brand of Progressive policies for education, so did educational movements in the mid-Atlantic region influence the educational landscape in the state. One of the most prominent influences on Chamberlayne was the Country Day School Movement that swept the East Coast from the 1890s to the 1930s. Beginning in 1897 in Baltimore, Maryland, Dr. Daniel Colt Gilman, the president of Johns Hopkins University, sought to develop a secondary school in the region.[72] His model, known as the Country Day School, combined the academic rigor and dedication to outdoor

[70] Ibid., 121.
[71] Samuel C. Shepherd, Jr., *Avenues of Faith: Shaping the Urban Religious Culture of Richmond, Virginia, 1900-1929* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2001), 2-3.
[72]R.A. McCardell, *The country day school history, curriculum, philosophy of Horace Mann School* (Dobbs Ferry N.Y.: Oceana Productions, 1962), 14.

exercise of a boarding school with the advantage of students returning home to their families at the end of the day.[73]

This model not only kept the cost of schooling down, because parents did not have to pay for housing, but also gave parents the opportunity to exert influence over their children's lives.[74] In Virginia, the country day model was particularly applicable, because the region suffering from economic decline following Reconstruction, and parents to control the culture their children consumed. During a time when white Southerners were conscious of defining their region as distinct from the Northeast and resisted explicitly "Yankee" models of development, the Country Day School allowed parents of relative means to give their children an education without sending them to northern schools. The Country Day model spread across the East Coast over the next forty years, as many of the original faculty of the Gilman Country School, later known as the Gilman School For Boys, left to found their own schools modeled after it.[75] Older private schools often incorporated the model, moving to property outside cities for fresh air and space to develop their athletic programs.[76] Chamberlayne served on the faculty at Gilman for three years before leaving to found his own school.[77]

A newly married Chamberlayne founded The Chamberlayne School for Boys in September of 1911 in Richmond, Virginia. The original site of the school was in the west end of the city, four blocks away from the Boulevard. The Boulevard intersected with Monument Avenue, and eight years later became the site of the Stonewall Jackson monument. For the first year, sixteen boys enrolled in the school that Chamberlayne co-taught with assistant Dabney S.

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[73] McCardell, 13.
[74] Ibid., 16.
[75] Ibid., 14.
[76] Ibid.,17; W. Carson Ryan, J. Minor Gwynn, and Arnold K. King, *Secondary Education In The South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946), 180.
[77] Hankins, 1.

Lancaster.[78] Elizabeth Chamberlayne, Churchill's recent bride, worked to make the schoolhouse comfortable and welcoming for the boys. The headmaster's residence also housed the boys who boarded. Both boarding and day students ate a large hot midday meal in this residence. [79]

Even in the early stages of the school, Chamberlayne emphasized the importance of athletics and encouraged his students to participate in physical activity at the gym that occupied the bottom floor of the two story school building. In keeping with the Country Day School model, Chamberlayne also allotted time for exercise in the back lawn of the property. Students remembered his willingness to participate in the outdoor activities with his students, and lauded him for his athletic prowess.[80]

Despite the school's humble beginnings, Chamberlayne was intent on creating an environment of academic excellence at his school, and awarded book prizes for achievement in the classroom to members of the first class to complete courses at the school. Almost all of the books awarded that year were about Confederate generals or more broadly the Lost Cause, with Gamaliel Bradford's *Lee the American*, George Francis Robert Henderson's *Stonewall Jackson*, and George W. Bagby's *The Old Virginia Gentlemen and Other Sketches* awarded to the highest achieving students in each form.[81] As early as the first year of the school, Dr. Chamberlayne began to use these books prizes to closely align excellence in scholarship with conceptions of gentlemanliness and character of the Lost Cause.

The Episcopal Diocese and Education in Virginia

[78] The Chamberlayne School For Boys, "The Chamberlayne School :A Country School for Boys At Richmond, VA," Advertisement, *The Times Dispatch*, September 3, 1911, 11; Marie Tyler-McGraw, *At the Falls: Richmond, Virginia and Its People* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 249.
[79] The Chamberlayne School For Boys, 11, and Hankins, 3.
[80] Hankins, 3.
[81] Hankins, 4.

Three years after its founding the Chamberlayne School outgrew the space at Grove Avenue and purchased a property on the far west end of the city at the final stop of the Westhampton streetcar line. With the move out to Westhampton, the Chamberlayne School fulfilled the Country Day model, as it was outside the city but still easily accessible to the day students that lived in it.[82] His choice to move was likely due to southern reformers' growing fear that the environment of the city corrupted growing boys.[83] In the country, Chamberlayne offered full-time boarding, five day boarding, and non-boarding day options, which was unique at the time, and served to accommodate the different needs and financial means of families.[84] The new space in the country accommodated the growing Lower School, allowed for more specialized extracurricular activities, and a wider range of courses. The continued expansion of facilities and purchase of acreage to accommodate the growing student body, however, placed the school in a financially insecure position. Chamberlayne accepted the offer from the Episcopal Diocese to purchase the school in 1920 to keep the school in operation.[85]

At the time the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia purchased the Chamberlayne School for Boys, the Diocese and reformers transformed both private religious and public education in the state. At the turn of the twentieth century, Virginia, along with other states on the southern seaboard, began developing their public education programs. These programs were born out of an educational crusade in the South by reformers who believed that strong rural schools could help prepare the region for future development.[86] Scholarship on reform in North Carolina has

[82] Ibid., 6 and 9.
[83] William A. Link, *The Paradox of Southern Progressivism:1880-1930* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 112.
[84] Ryan, 179.
[85] Susan Gemmill and Philip Rob Bellury, *St. Christopher's School: scholars and gentlemen* (Atlanta: Storyline Group, 2011), 32.
[86] Link, 125-6. For further reading on Progressivism and school reform occurring across the South at this time, see also James Leloudis, *Schooling the New South*.

shown that the state took a stronger centralized approach to building more schools and training its teachers. Reformers believed these changes among others contributed to the broader mission of New South ideology by preparing students to participate in an industrialized economy.[87] From the start in Virginia, the state government legalized segregation and terribly underfunded African American schools with regard to teacher pay, facilities, and textbook provision.[88] Even in Virginia, a state conscious about the pressing need of public education before the Civil War, public education significantly lagged behind Northern states, paying teachers significantly less and allocating less money for education. In 1900, Virginia schools were open for only 119 days, with only three fifths of school-aged children enrolled in school.

Following Reconstruction, Virginia's public education was severely hindered by a political machine tied to private railroad companies that controlled state politics and fought against the funding of public schools in favor of lower state taxes.[89] Beginning in 1902, a state constitutional convention ushered in a new era of funding for public education under governor Andrew Jackson Montague. Although Montague was not an educational reformer, he was friendly with them.[90] The Southern Education Board began documenting the school conditions throughout the state during this period, and concluded that school conditions in Richmond were far superior to those in rural areas.[91] Virginians distrusted Northern philanthropy that sought to remedy the condition of schools, despite the embarrassing conditions of whites-only schools. Southerners often chastised those who adopted Northern models of education as "'turning

[87] Leloudis, xii.
[88] Louis Harlan, *Separate and Unequal: Public School Campaigns and Racism in Southern Seaboard States, 1901-1915* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1958), 5 and 16-7.
[89] Harlan, 136-7.
[90] Ibid., 146.
[91] Ibid.,148.

Yankee.'"[92] State funding for public education in Virginia increased between 1900 and 1915, but it still significantly lagged behind the rest of the North.[93]

Although Virginia funded education poorly in comparison to New England, reformers from private and public institutions worked together to improve educational opportunities for white Virginian students. Religious reformers sometimes supported the funding of African American schools, but it is often hard to pinpoint reformers intentions in supporting African American education. Some supported African American education in order to maintain racial segregation in schools, or only supported vocational schools for African Americans.

In his study of Richmond during the early twentieth century, Samuel Shepherd highlights the role that its religious leaders played "to adapt religious ideas and institutions to the changing environment of their urban South."[94] Shepherd locates the movement to improve Sunday School instruction in Richmond at the beginning of the century for the Episcopal Diocese's larger push for the funding of religious private schools in the state.[95] As early as 1875, the Diocese had appointed a committee and had developed a report in 1877 on the state of education in Virginia, deeming their desire to fund religious schools as "the missionary work in the field of education."[96] Religious schools in rural areas also helped ensure continued generations of clergy to staff churches in less-populated counties in the state.[97] The commission on education made plans to buy four operating single-sex private schools in the state in 1914, but the outbreak of WWI halted their efforts. In 1920, the Diocese purchased two schools in Richmond, the Virginia Randolph Ellet School for Girls and the Chamberlayne School for Boys which had both

[92] Ibid., 136 and 31.
[93] Ibid., 252.
[94] Shepherd, 2.
[95] Shepherd, 65.
[96] Davison, 69.
[97] Davison, 69.

relocated to Westhampton. They renamed the schools St. Catherine's School and St. Christopher's School, which helped establish a brother sister relationship between the schools. After the sale of the Chamberlayne School to the Diocese, Chamberlayne remained headmaster.[98]

Looking into the involvement of the Episcopal Diocese in education illuminates the way private religious institutions influenced public education in Virginia, and contoured broader cultural conversations surrounding education. The contributions of James Hardy Dillard reveal this confluence of private school education and Progressive educational reform in public education at the time. He became involved with educational policies in the state as a member of the board of trustees for St. Anne's School in Charlottesville, which was one of the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia's first schools.[99] In addition to serving in various advisory positions within the church, he served in many powerful positions of organizations seeking to develop public education in the South as a member of the General Education Board, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and the Southern Education Board.[100] Similar to Chamberlayne's critiques of education included in the book of his father's Civil War letters, Dillard criticized the state of public education in Virginia. He argued that "weakness of public education" was due to large impersonal schools that focused too heavily on institutional efficiency while sacrificing recruitment of skilled educators.[101] Despite his dedication to the idealized education he received at a private school growing up in a wealthy planter family, Dillard oversaw and influenced Virginia's public educational development.[102]

[98] Shepherd, 70-71.
[99] Davison, 73.
[100] Davison, 73-4.
[101] Ibid., 76.
[102] Ibid.,72.

Chamberlayne's institutional affiliations additionally reveal the blurring of lines between private and public education in the state in the 1910s and 1920s. As a headmaster of an Episcopal school, he not only connected to the Diocese, but also the Commonwealth's Board of Education, and his alma mater, the University of Virginia. His school operated outside the influence of the State Board of Education, but Chamberlayne corresponded with the Superintendent of Public Instruction. R.C. Stearnes, the Superintendent, requested that Chamberlayne take a look at the history books that the state had placed on their preferred list for the best U.S. History textbook and voice his opinion on their choice.[103] Although St. Christopher's was a private school under the jurisdiction of the Episcopal Diocese, his correspondence with the State Board of Education reveals the way in which Progressive educators participated in the development of public education in the state, as well as the overlap between those affiliated with private institutions and public state affairs.

Eugenics in the Old Dominion and Richmond

At the same time the Chamberlayne School was growing in size and influence within Richmond, the University of Virginia (UVA) was striving to be an educational force not only in the South, but in the nation. Chamberlayne maintained institutional ties with UVA's president Edwin Alderman up until his death. He felt connected to him as an alumnus of UVA and fellow educator, and by sending many of his St. Christopher's graduates to the university.[104] Alderman

[103] Correspondence from R.C. Stearnes to C.G. Chamberlayne, 12 February 1915, Box 3 Folder P-W 1914-1915, Chamberlayne Family Papers, Virginia Museum of History & Culture, Richmond, Virginia.
Correspondence from R.C. Stearnes to C.G. Chamberlayne, 8 December 1914, Box 3 Folder P-W 1914-1915, Chamberlayne Family Papers, Virginia Museum of History & Culture, Richmond, Virginia.
[104] Correspondence from C.G. Chamberlayne to Charles H. Kauffmann , 6 August 1934, Box 3 Folder P-W 1914-1915, Chamberlayne Family Papers, Virginia Museum of History & Culture, Richmond, Virginia.
Correspondence from J.M. Page to C.G. Chamberlayne , 8 March 1917, Box 3 Folder H-W 1916-1917, Chamberlayne Family Papers, Virginia Museum of History & Culture, Richmond, Virginia.

even briefly looked into sending his son to St. Christopher's School, but ultimately decided to send him to Episcopal High School in Alexandria, Virginia.[105]

During Alderman's tenure at UVA, he worked at combining the traditionalism of the Lost Cause and race, class, and gender hierarchies with New South doctrine by hiring scientists that promoted eugenics.[106] Eugenics provided a seemingly objective scientific explanation of race that undergirded white supremacy and Jim Crow segregation. Alderman's push to keep Virginia up-to-date on racial science was part of a broader effort on the part of Virginia's legislature to enshrine eugenics into state law. In 1924, Virginia passed a compulsory sterilization law that was then upheld by the United States Supreme Court in the case *Buck v. Bell* in 1927.[107] In fact, over the course of the twentieth century Virginia sterilized more people than any other state except for California.[108]

Alderman contributed to the growing political legitimacy of eugenics by hiring Ivey Lewis, a foremost scientist of eugenics for a distinguished chair position in the department of Biology at UVA.[109] Alderman and Lewis soon grew to be close confidants.[110] A southerner from birth, Lewis taught his students that "blacks constituted the 'one unsolvable American problem,'" and that segregation was the only way to ensure the purity of a superior white race.[111] Although it is unclear whether Chamberlayne agreed with Ivey Lewis's scientific racism, they were cordial with each other, because Chamberlayne wrote about Lewis's father in a published history

[105] Correspondence from Eppa Hunton, Jr. to C.G. Chamberlayne, 1 June 1918, Box 4 Folder B-N 1917-1918, Chamberlayne Family Papers, Virginia Museum of History & Culture, Richmond, Virginia.
[106] Gregory Michael Dorr, *Segregation's Science: Eugenics and Society in Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press: 2008), 7.
[107] Christine Rosen, *Preaching Eugenics: Religious Leaders and the American Eugenics Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 150.
[108] Dorr, 9.
[109] Dorr, 74.
[110] Ibid., 69.
[111] Ibid., 76.

article.[112] Other promoters of eugenics at the University were Robert Bennett Bean, hired in the department of Anatomy, and George Oscar Ferguson, recruited for the department of Psychology. Both Bean and Ferguson's racist ideologies influenced their scholarly research and subsequent conclusions. Bean measured the brain sizes of whites and African Americans, concluding that there were distinct physical differences in the brains according to the race of the subjects.[113] Ferguson's psychological research concluded that a racial "hierarchy of intelligence" existed, and influenced subsequent generation's ideas about the relationship between race and education.[114]

Although Chamberlayne did not publish any work with the explicit support of the eugenics movement, scholar of race in Virginia J. Douglas Smith has argued that Anglo-Saxon Clubs promoted views that "resonated with a much broader swath of the white population."[115] One of the most prominent leaders of the eugenics movement in the country, John Powell, was in Chamberlayne's graduating class at UVA, and founded the first chapter of the Anglo-Saxon Club in Richmond in 1922.[116] The movement was especially popular among educated elite white Virginians who were "obsessed with genealogy and their pristine bloodlines," and sought to distinguish their racial ideology from the Ku Klux Klan.[117] The work of Powell and the Anglo-

[112] Ivey Foreman, "Letters from Old Trunks," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 44, no. 2(1936): 116.
[113] Dorr,78.
[114] Dorr, 85.
[115] J. Douglas Smith, "The Campaign for Racial Purity and the Erosion of Paternalism in Virginia, 1922-1930 'Nominally White, Biologically Mixed, and Legally Negro,'" *The Journal of Southern History* 68, no. 1(2002):66.
[116] Ormond Stone and John Walter Wayland, "Alumni in Fine Art," *Alumni Bulletin of the University of Virginia* 1, no. 2 (1908):170.
Smith, 65.
[117]Smith,66.

Saxon clubs were specifically strong in persuading the Virginia General Assembly to Pass the 1924 Racial Integrity Act.[118]

Whether or not they were vocal supporters of eugenics ideology or the recent codification of eugenics in the statehouse downtown, wealthy white Richmonders took their desire to display their Anglo-Saxon heritage to the urban landscape of the city. Windsor Farms, a planned subdivision developed in Richmond's West End in the 1920s, centered around a sixteenth century manor house known as Agecroft Hall that tobacco heir T.C. Williams, Jr. had transported from England and re-assembled. Windsor Farms later acquired another sixteenth century English structure, the Warwick Priory, which added to the feel of an English village, as it was located next to the common green. Many of the homes reflected British architectural styles of either Georgian or Tudor style houses.

A promotional book for the neighborhood, *Windsor Farms: Hauntingly Reminiscent of Old England*, begins the history of the neighborhood in 1607 in Jamestown. Its author describes colonial Virginia as, "Simply a bit of English transported to a new continent."[119] The three centuries covered in the book not only create a sense of Windsor Farm's historical significance despite being undeveloped prior to the twentieth century, but also to argue the innate Englishness of Virginians and the Anglo-Saxon sensibilities of wealthy ones. Developers advertised Windsor Farms as a subdivision "'that caters to people of discrimination and culture,'" noting that the "'restrictions are ample to protect against the undesirable without being burdensome.'" Although

[118] Ibid., 80; Elite white Virginians saw eugenics not only as a means to preserve racial segregation, but also to reinforce class hierarchy among whites. White lawmakers sought to maintain Anglo-Saxon purity by sterilizing lower-class white women, deeming them "feeble-minded." Eugenics were central to Virginia's brand of white supremacy and racial segregation, predicated on ideas that it was more expertly managed due to the fact that they maintained clearly defined racial and class boundaries. For further reading on eugenics and women in the Upper South, see Anna Krome-Lukens, *The Reform Imagination: Gender, Eugenics, and the Welfare State in North Carolina, 1900-1940*, 2014, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.

[119] Mary Newton Stanard, *Windsor Farms: Hauntingly Reminiscent of Old England* (Richmond: Windsor Farms Incorporated, 1926), 1.

the neighborhood was far from the city center at the time in order to maintain exclusivity, potential residents were assured that "'a special *bus* meets servants at the city car line terminals each morning and brings them to Windsor Farms in time to prepare breakfast.'"[120] Windsor Farms illuminates the way elite white Richmonders in the 1920s sought to characterize themselves in terms of their Anglo pedigree, which at this time was an idea linked to eugenics and white supremacy in the Old Dominion. The neighborhood's creation added to the elite white enclave created in Westhampton following St. Christopher's, St. Catherine's, The University of Richmond's, and the Country Club of Virginia's move to the area within the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Churchill Chamberlayne founded St. Christopher's School at a time when Virginia began expanding its public schools and negotiating what education would look like in the state. The figures that contoured the educational landscape were not only political officeholders and bureaucrats, but members on the boards of social and religious institutions as well. Chamberlayne adds to existing scholarship on the relationship between the Lost Cause and the New South, illuminating the ways in which upper-class white men infused Progressive educational ideals with tenets of the Lost Cause. His connections with the University of Virginia reveal his friendly and professional relationships with pioneers of eugenics who changed the educational landscape and swayed the statehouse into codifying scientific racism. Influential Virginian eugenicists additionally reveal the way in which eugenics played into white Virginian's desire to maintain the ideology of white supremacy central to the Lost Cause while seeking to modernize as a state during the age of Progressivism.

[120] *Black Swan* (November 1929), quoted in Tyler-McGraw, 251.

The cultural moment at which Chamberlayne began to create the traditions of St. Christopher's provides the foundation upon which to further analyze the way in which he constructed notions of masculinity in the school through curriculum, liturgy, and athletics. Drawing upon the Lost Cause, appreciation of Anglo tradition through the Episcopal Church and boarding school culture, and centering his curriculum around college preparation, Chamberlayne's school provides a site for analysis of upper-class white Southern manhood and how those notions were reinforced or changed over the decades.

II.CREATING A SACRED MASCULINE SPACE

"*Lift up your voices*
Let us pledge our loyalty
To St. Christopher's forever,
Hail all hail to thee.

When we see the tall pines swaying.
Calling to the sky,
Gather all her loyal sons
Sing her praises high."- "Hail St. Christopher's," 1950

Chapter Introduction

When St. Christopher's boys got off at the 25th stop on the Ninth and Westhampton streetcar line, they were greeted by clusters of tall statuesque pines and grassy fields that made up the fourteen acres of the campus.[121] The striking nature of the pine trees became an important symbol that students and administrators alike invoked to highlight the school's long history and tradition. As early as 1928, students claimed the founding of the school had occurred "any number of years before, when the pine trees here were about the height of bushes."[122] This, of course, was clearly impossible and incorrect, but it helps illuminate how St. Christopher's student body, faculty, and administration actively invented traditions. Every time students and Churchill Gibson Chamberlayne referenced the swaying pines of their school, they did so to imply that the school was as old as those pine trees, thus granting it greater legitimacy as an institution.[123]

The curriculum, culture, and traditions of St. Christopher's, along with the geographical space it occupied, reveal how Chamberlayne and St. Christopher's students created a sacred

[121] De Witt Hankins, *The First Fifty Years: A History of St. Christopher's School, 1911-1961* (Richmond, VA: St. Christopher's School Foundation, 1961), 6,53.
[122] St. Christopher's School, *Raps & Taps* (Richmond, Virginia:1928), 48, St. Christopher's School Archives.
[123] Ibid., 69.

masculine space at the school. Hobsbawm's theory of invented tradition helps illustrate how St. Christopher's created sacred ideas surrounding masculinity through muscular Christianity, as well as ideas about honor linked to the Confederacy and Episcopalian religion.[124] In addition to exploring rituals at the school, sociological theory of masculinity and curriculum helps evaluate how explicit and implicit ideas about gender developed through a gender division of labor, the curriculum, the nature of authority, and student culture at the school.[125] Using these theories as framework reveal how St. Christopher's took on the role of not only educating boys but inculcating masculinity.

Theory: Gendering Space and Curriculum

R.W. Connell's sociological article, "Boys, masculinities, and curricula," provides a guide map to understanding dominant ideas about masculinity at St. Christopher's and how administrators and students constructed them.[126] Connell's scholarship is particularly useful in identifying ideas about masculinity that are muted and sometimes barely visible. Since St. Christopher's blatantly propagated ideas about masculinity through their curriculum and sports, these elements might overshadow the way its space and organization equally created and remade dominant masculinities. The framework of a "gender regime" additionally helps to show the historical nature of gender that had been especially obscured due to appeals to tradition and an idealized past of the school. St. Christopher's serves as a case study to see how a gender regime

[124] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, "Introduction: The Inventing Traditions," *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012),1-14.
[125]R.W. Connell, "Boys, masculinities and curricula. The construction of masculinity in practice-oriented subjects," *ZEP : Zeitschrift für internationale Bildungsforschung und Entwicklungspädagogik* 28, no.4 (2005): 21-27.
[126] Central to Connell's scholarship on masculinity and curricula is her previous scholarship on hegemonic masculinity. Connell argues that although multiple diverse constructions of masculinity exist within a single institution, they are not "equally available or equally respected." "Hegemonic masculinity" is "the pattern of masculinity which holds the the dominant position." This chapter will illustrate the dominant masculinity propagated by school administrators and much of student culture.

existed, and how appeals to tradition obstruct the reality of how its constant flux is essential to ensuring white male hegemony in the South.

Connell argues, "gender relations are embedded in organizations in a number of ways," some of the most common being a "division of labour," and "the nature of authority."[127] Students and individuals such as Chamberlayne brought to St. Christopher's personal notions about gender that were influential, but the school itself was not a neutral space. The fabric of the school produced, reproduced, and reorganized ideas about manhood through its very design, space, and employees. This scholarship is additionally useful in thinking about the historicity of gender at the school. While at times ideas about manhood may appear static, they were in constant flux due to the relational nature of gender arrangements that made up the school's "gender regime."[128] Acknowledging that a pattern of gender relations existed at St. Christopher's—as an all-boys school before its curriculum exchange with St. Catherine's— illuminates how St. Catherine's students specifically disrupted the gender arrangement of St. Christopher's when they came to campus.

Muted Gender: Division of Labor

Records show there was a prominent division of labor at St. Christopher's along gender lines as female teachers only taught in the Lower School during the first fifty years of the school's operation. Students and faculty never explicitly noted the relegation of women to the Lower School, although American psychologists and educators around the country in the first few decades of the twentieth century critiqued the high proportion of female teachers as having a "feminizing" effect on young boys.[129] When the school was first founded it only employed male

[127] Ibid., 24.
[128] Connell, 24.
[129] Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012),90.

teachers, but by third school year in 1913 Chamberlayne hired Virginia Stuart Bouldin to head up the Lower School, giving her the job title of "Assistant in Lower School."[130] The school at the time was made up of nine grade levels or "forms," with three forms in the Lower School and six forms in the Upper School.[131] Although students acknowledged how Bouldin differed from the rest of the faculty, noting "they are all perfect gentlemen, except Miss Bouldin," Dr. Chamberlayne and subsequent headmasters seemed to think that female teachers were best suited to teach young boys.[132] Only male teachers taught in the Upper School, where academic subjects became increasingly rigorous.[133] St. Christopher's students respected how Bouldin had invested in the boys during her twenty year tenure at the school, including how she developed leadership opportunities for them, but neither she nor another female educator taught grade levels higher than the sixth form.[134]

Since St. Christopher's offered both boarding and day options, the school educated younger students, which differed from traditional New England boarding schools that had existed for over a century. Looking at two prominent New England boarding schools at the time, Phillips Andover in Massachusetts and Phillips Exeter in New Hampshire, shows they only educated boys in four upper grade divisions: Senior, Upper Middle, Lower Middle, and Junior.[135] Only offering upper level instruction, both schools had strictly male faculty and staff.[136] Although they would not have considered hiring a woman to teach these upper level students,

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[130] *The Chamberlayne School,Richmond, VA: 1914-1915*, 1915.
[131] *The Chamberlayne School,* 1915.
[132] *Pine Needle* 1919-120 Quoted in De Witt Hankins, *The First Fifty Years: A History of St. Christopher's School,1911-1961* (Richmond,VA: St. Christopher's School Foundation, 1961), 56.
[133] St. Christopher's School, *Raps & Taps* (Richmond, Virginia:1962), 54, St. Christopher's School Archives.
[134] Peter Glenn, "Lower School Officers Named," *The Pine Needle*, October 20,1950,1.
Hankins, 109-110.
[135] Phillips Exeter Academy , *The Pean* (Exeter, New Hampshire:1924), 142-55.
Phillips Andover Academy, *Pot Pourri* (Andover, Massachusetts: 1925), 74-77.
[136] Phillips Exeter Academy , *The Pean* (Exeter, New Hampshire:1924), 26-37.
Phillips Andover Academy, *Pot Pourri* (Andover, Massachusetts: 1925), 7-14.

their schools lacked the rigid gender division of labor notably present at St. Christopher's at this time. More than an ideological split between northern and southern private schools, this was likely due to the differences between the country day and the older New England boarding model that emulated British boarding schools.

As the school expanded, the number of teachers in each school division increased as well as the staff needed to run the school. New teachers were added to teach an increasing variety of subjects in the Upper School, which expanded to seven forms. By 1945, there were sixteen male faculty members teaching in the Upper School, and eight female faculty members teaching in the Lower School, which had expanded to six forms.[137] During this addition of new teachers, the gender division of labor became more visible and entrenched as the school restricted work opportunities for women to the Lower School or administrative positions.[138] Even as an all-boys school, St. Christopher's had a clear gender division of labor that coincided with a hierarchy of grade-levels and difficulty of subjects. Less obvious than the gender divide, was the gendering of curriculum as an all-boys school. However, the Lower School was the only time St. Christopher's boys received art instruction. Since only female faculty members taught art, this emitted a subliminal message that art was not an important part of curriculum to raise male leaders.[139] By only giving only men senior faculty positions and only allowing women to teach younger boys, the gender division of labor at St. Christopher's fused ideas about masculinity with power and authority.

Changing Ideas about Gender: Theater

[137] St. Christopher's School, *Raps & Taps* (Richmond, Virginia:1945), 10-11,73, St. Christopher's School Archives.
[138] St. Christopher's School, *Raps & Taps* (Richmond, Virginia:1945), 10-11,73, St. Christopher's School Archives.
[139] *St. Christopher's School, Richmond, VA 1934-1935*, picture of art instruction in school promotional material, no page listed, Accessed classmates.com.

Theatrical performances in the first fifty years of St. Christopher's help to illuminate changing ideas of masculinity despite the school's vocal dedication to tradition. In the 1928 school yearbook, *The Raps & Taps*, students commended their fellow classmates for their acting skills during their performance of the play "Seventeen," especially those three boys who played female roles. The yearbook editors made sure to note that "the boys playing female parts always put over interpretations without being ludicrous or burlesque."[140] Although St. Christopher's boys applauded those boys who performed female roles, they made sure to distance themselves from artistic expressions at the time associated with lower-class performances that blurred gender.[141] They additionally used it as an opportunity to reinforce ideas about acceptable female characteristics by noting that the actors were "unsurpassable in feminine grace, charm, and beauty." Despite this dedication to keeping the performance respectable and clean, students did not refrain from mentioning how one father was in shock to see how much his son looked like his wife.[142] Even though St. Christopher's students celebrated theatrical performances of the opposite gender, these temporary gender inversions provided a chance to reinforce gender norms regarding white upper-class masculinity and femininity.

The willingness of St. Christopher's students to embrace performing female roles in plays did not last. In 1949, *The Pine Needle* excitedly announced that St. Christopher's Upper School students would perform "the first school production to include the opposite sex (in reality)."[143] St. Christopher's Upper School boys no longer acted out female roles in their plays. Whereas twenty years prior they had lauded the performances, the school transitioned to a model in which

[140] St. Christopher's School, *Raps & Taps* (Richmond, Virginia:1928), 55, St. Christopher's School Archives.
[141] Robert C. Allen, *Horrible Prettiness: Burlesque and American Culture* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991),147.
[142] St. Christopher's School, *Raps & Taps* (Richmond, Virginia:1928), 55, St. Christopher's School Archives.
[143] Von Schilling and Harp,"St. Kit's Play at St. Catherine's, *The Pine Needle*, March 11, 1949,1.

their theater company—the St. Kit's players— had young women act female roles in their plays. Theater and performance arts were the first major collaborations between St. Christopher's and St. Catherine's, and assisted in changing ideas about gender at St. Christopher's. Theater eventually moved to the Upper School at St. Catherine's in the 1960s and became coded as feminine.[144] In the Lower School, however, boys continued to perform female roles, and it became part of school culture for them to dress up in wigs and dresses and wear makeup.[145] The gender taboo was considered charming for young boys but no longer acceptable for young men in the Middle and Upper Schools by the late forties.

The Sacralization of Sports: Muscular Christianity

Chamberlayne's attention to sports as a means to develop the moral character of St. Christopher's boys was part of a broader movement that linked religion, exercise, and masculinity known as Muscular Christianity. Muscular Christianity was a movement across the country on the part of academics and educators to remake white bourgeois manhood, believing it had become overly feminized.[146] Psychologist G. Stanley Hall argued that school curriculum for boys should counteract the feminizing effects of civilization, cities, and female teachers by allowing boys to exercise and play. It was in their nature to be primitive, Hall argued, and would encourage them to grow up as strong men.[147] Protestant church leaders at the same time who promoted Muscular Christianity adapted many of these educational ideas about masculinity to the church. In the same way that G. Stanley Hall argued that the saturation of female teachers

[144] Susan Gemmill and Philip Rob Bellury, *St. Christopher's School: scholars and gentlemen* (Atlanta: Storyline Group, 2011) 131.
[145] Gemmill and Bellury, 120.
[146] Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920* (Cambridge:Harvard University Press, 2001), 1-4.
[147] Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in America, 1880-1917* (The University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1995), 94.

was causing the feminization of schoolboys, so did church leaders fear the influence of women on church culture.[148] Chamberlayne's sermons and writing of the school's athletic prayer reflected his adoption of the movement of Muscular Christianity. Along with other all-boys schools at the time, St. Christopher's is an interesting site not only because it was founded during the height of Muscular Christianity, but because it was specifically a church school for boys, in which ideas about religion were intertwined with ideas about masculinity and sports.[149]

As previously mentioned, Chamberlayne did not entirely ascribe to Muscular Christian ideas about women as a "threat" to young boys, but adopted many of its tenets in how he linked sports to his religious teachings and school traditions.[150] The most striking example of the school's adoption of Muscular Christianity was the headmaster's athletic prayer for the school. It began by petitioning God that the team rightfully win stating, "[w]e do not ask for them victory, but that they may deserve to be victorious."[151] It then acknowledged the risk of injury for the athletes, putting God in control of their fate. After praying that the athletes remember God's presence in their competition, it ends with, "Grant them this, O Heavenly Father, that they may, even as Thy heroes of old, quit themselves like men and fight to Thy honor and glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."[152] Chamberlayne referenced 1 Corinthians 16:13 in the King James Version in which the Apostle Paul urges the Corinthians, "quit you like men, be strong." The verse is one that attributes strength to manhood, even though within the context of the chapter is not related to fighting or victory in the way that Chamberlayne adapted it for the prayer.

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[148] Bederman, 3.
[149] Axel Bundgaard, *Muscle and Manliness: The Rise of Sport in American Boarding Schools* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2005), 31.
[150] Bundgaard, 101.
[151] Gemmill and Bellury, 23.
[152] Gemmill and Bellury, 23.

Chamberlayne's homilies continued to espouse ideas about the power of sports competition to promote character development, by linking Bible passages from the Old and New Testament to ideas about discipline, athleticism, and manliness. In Chamberlayne's sermon notes on "foul and profane talk," he attributed the proliferation of filthy words as a form of aspirational masculinity among students. [153] He contended St. Christopher's boys used profane language because they felt it "is big, it is grown-up, it is manly to use such language," but argued that "it is no sign of bigness, but the reverse."[154] Looking at his notes, Chamberlayne resisted a form of masculinity among the student body that viewed inappropriate language as an assertion of manhood. Whether this was linked to broader cultural symbols in the 1920s or was specific to the school, his sermon was crafted around his argument that "the desire to be considered manly [is] at the root of our troubles."[155] This not only shows how students were active in creating ideas of manliness outside of the formal school sanctioned mechanisms, but also that Chamberlayne pushed back against popular notions of manhood that were changing within the school and nation.

Other sermon notes showed how Chamberlayne used the Bible to undergird school sports and academic rigor to manhood. He spoke about the "threefold nature of man: body, mind, and soul (or spirit)," and the idea that "all need exercise; all need rest," and the importance of work ethic in making a great man.[156] He even went so far as to proclaim in a sermon on the parable of the talents that "the unforgivable sin is not to make mistakes and do what is wrong, but is to do

[153] C.G. Chamberlayne sermon notes, 14 April 1929, MSS1 C3552e FA2, 10,664-10,703, page 5, Chamberlayne Family Papers, VA Museum of History and Culture, Richmond, Virginia.
[154]C.G. Chamberlayne sermon notes,14 April 1929, page 6.
[155] C.G. Chamberlayne sermon notes,14 April 1929, page 4.
[156] C.G. Chamberlayne sermon notes, not dated- on Mark 6:31, MSS1 C3552e FA2, 10,664-10,703, page 1, Chamberlayne Family Papers, VA Museum of History and Culture, Richmond, Virginia.

nothing."[157] Chamberlayne often extrapolated his interpretations of scripture directly related to events at the school. His notes on the conclusion for the sermon on this parable read, "5 1/2 more weeks of this session. Make use of your opportun[ity]."[158] This extrapolation led to sermons that did the reverse—linking ideas of sportsmanship to biblical principles. A sermon he delivered on sportsmanship argued "sportsmanship of life" involved making personal sacrifices and giving to others. He linked sportsmanship to faith by conceptualizing it as "playing fair with God."[159] Chamberlayne's adoption of Muscular Christianity gave as sense of religious authority to St. Christopher's dominant masculinity, and his development of a school athletic prayer during this time enshrined these ideas into the school for subsequent generations.

On the Sidelines: Spectators and Gender Division Surrounding Sports

St. Christopher's was dedicated to making masculinity through its robust athletic program that required each student participate in sports year-round. Sports, Connell argues, become so crucial to developing masculinities that they often become part of wider cultural symbols of masculinity. [160] In this sense, the making of masculinity at St. Christopher's is especially apparent in how the school prioritized the construction of a new gym, expanded their sports offerings, adopted Muscular Christianity, and dedicated much of their space in the school publications to covering games.[161] However, equally important to constructing masculinity was the gender division in activities surrounding competition. Both male cheerleaders and female

[157] C.G. Chamberlayne sermon notes, 5 May 1929, MSS1 C3552e FA2, 10,664-10,703, no page number, Chamberlayne Family Papers, VA Museum of History and Culture, Richmond, Virginia.
[158]C.G. Chamberlayne sermon notes, 5 May 1929, no page number.
[159] C.G. Chamberlayne sermon notes, not dated, MSS1 C3552e FA2, 10,664-10,703,9, Chamberlayne Family Papers, VA Museum of History and Culture, Richmond, Virginia.
[160] Connell, 24.
[161] "Dedication Events Will Be Saturday: Dedication Saturday, 2:30pm," *The Pine Needle*, February 12, 1936,1-3.

sponsors of sports teams illuminate the stark gender division in sports culture at the school that functioned similarly to the division of labor.

Even with only male students, sports culture at the school created gender boundaries off the field. Sports teams and some school organizations had affiliated female sponsors, whether they were a St. Catherine's girl, or the mother or sister of a student. None of the literature provides a description of their role, merely their picture, revealing that although it was customary during the first fifty years of the school for teams to have a female sponsor, their presence was more for decorum.[162] That decorum relegated women to a background role as supporters and not as full participants. Women's exclusion from cheerleading additionally shows how this gender divide in sports was maintained in St. Christopher's athletic culture.

Cheerleading at the school was another way to perform masculinity and privilege male attendance and voices over female ones at school-sponsored athletic events. Like other elite all-male schools within Virginia and along the East Coast, St. Christopher's students emulated the male squads of private universities that were emblematic of manliness in the early twentieth century.[163] A picture and caption of the St. Christopher's squad in the 1947 yearbook illustrates how students held on to the ideals of "heroic, idealized image of male cheerleaders" central to their conception in the beginning of the century, reading: "Fight fiercely, lads."[164] They dressed in similar fashion to popular images of collegiate cheerleaders, wearing letterman sweaters and holding megaphones.

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[162] For example,St. Christopher's School, *Raps & Taps* (Richmond, Virginia:1928), 79, St. Christopher's School Archives.

[163] Mary Ellen Hanson, *Go! Fight! Win! : Cheerleading in American Culture* (Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1995), 3.
Axel Bundgaard, *Muscle and Manliness: The Rise of Sport in American Boarding Schools* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2005), 137.

[164] Hanson, 3.
St. Christopher's School, *Raps & Taps* (Richmond, Virginia:1947), 72, St. Christopher's School Archives.

St. Christopher's students acknowledged female attendance at their games, but were often critical about the lack of male attendance or school spirit.[165] School spirit was the feature of countless editorials in *The Pine Needle*, policed in an almost obsessive fashion. Cheerleaders possessed the authority and responsibility to galvanize students and maintain school spirit, and were thus recognized for their service to the school. Even moving into the 1950s, when cheerleading in public schools were solidly co-ed, St. Christopher's maintained their male squad and lamented a lack of male spectators and cheers despite the healthy attendance of women at their games.[166] Many histories of American masculinity have focused on the emphasis of sporting culture in developing notions of manhood, but looking at St. Christopher's, the construction of gender is equally apparent in how the school relegated women to the periphery of sports as sponsors and non-cheerleaders.

Inventing Tradition: School Symbols

The more muted manifestations of gender at St. Christopher's existed alongside traditions explicitly constructed to inculcate or valorize ideals of white southern manhood. Hobsbawm's scholarship on invented traditions is particularly applicable to understanding how Chamberlayne, students, and faculty created and legitimized white masculinity by linking it to a romanticized ideal of the American South. Hobsbawm argues that invented traditions "seek to inculcate certain values or norms of behaviour by repetition" through establishing "continuity with a suitable historical past."[167] In addition to infusing even recent norms with a sense of precedent, invented traditions function by "establishing social cohesion," "legitimizing institutions," and inculcating beliefs. [168]

[165] "Stand Behind Your School," *The Pine Needle*, May 13, 1932, 2.
[166] Pete Anderson, "Editorial: *On the Subject of Cheering*," *The Pine Needle*, October 20, 1950.
[167] Hobsbawm,1.
[168] Ibid., 2 and 9.

As a newly founded country day school, St. Christopher's lacked the institutional history of other all-boys boarding schools along the eastern seaboard and in Virginia. Some of the most prominent boarding schools in the country were founded well over one hundred years before St. Christopher's, modeling themselves after English schools.[169] New England boarding schools such as Phillips Andover Academy in Andover, Massachusetts was founded in 1778 and Phillips Exeter Academy in Exeter, New Hampshire was founded in 1783.[170] Within Virginia, Episcopal High School was the first high school in the state, founded in 1839 in Alexandria, Virginia outside of Washington, D.C.[171] As an antebellum institution, Episcopal had a Confederate history, closing from 1861-1865 for the war.[172] Woodberry Forest School in Orange, VA in 1889, was only two decades older than St. Christopher's, but had ties back to the early Republic. The brother of president James Madison built the house that served as the original Woodberry schoolhouse.[173] St. Christopher's boasted a newer, more affordable model, but could not trace its history back to alumni of the school as models as Christian gentlemanly behavior.

While St. Christopher's did not differ from northern schools in its goals to raise the next generation of gentlemen, it differed in its use of Confederate generals to serve as models of idealized manhood.[174] Chamberlayne infused his school with southern masculinity associated with the Lost Cause by naming the school's literary and debate societies after Confederate generals Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson. Chamberlayne created the Lee and Jackson societies as part of his curriculum to raise the next generation of white male leaders of the South,

[169] Axel Bundgaard, *Muscle and Manliness: The Rise of American Sport in American Boarding Schools* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2005), 32.
[170] Ibid., 6.
[171] Ibid., 33.
[172] Ibid., 52.
[173] Ibid., 132.
[174] Raphaelle Steinzig, "America's Heirs Presumptive: Boys' Boarding Schools in New England, 1877–1938," (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2013), 23, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.

and this was clear to students who reflected upon their time at St. Christopher's who noted, "It is a school whose large purpose is to develop Christian leaders."[175] It is also clear that these boys knew that their fellow classmates would be the types of men they would encounter in college and in business and political life. In addition to honing public speaking skills, they pointed out that each St. Christopher's boy graduated having "faced the hardest audience of his lifetime: the boys he has played and worked with, and will play and work with again."[176] In addition to preparation for the professional world, St. Christopher's students saw their education as ushering them into powerful social and political circles.

In addition to venerating Lee and Jackson as heroes and leaders, the Lee and Jackson societies created social cohesion among students and alumni. The literary societies encouraged friendly competition between members of each team that resulted in the awarding of a trophy cup to one of the teams each year. Although Chamberlayne started the debate societies only in the Upper School, Bouldin eventually implemented literary societies in the Lower School. As early as the first form of the Lower School, the school gave students the identification as either a "Lee" or "Jackson."[177] Chamberlayne's desire to the honor the Lost Cause developed throughout the years into much more than he had intended. Being a "Lee" or a "Jackson" was something that bonded students to their fellow classmates. St. Christopher's developed leaders through both the curriculum and creating a tradition formed around the existing legacy of prominent white wealthy men who had attended the school in years past.

Chamberlayne additionally attempted to instill in his school a sense of history and authority more generally through Confederate commemoration in addition to the Lee and

[175] Samuel W. Stevenson, Jr., "Editorial," *The Pine Needle,* June 10, 1954, 2.
[176] St. Christopher's School, *Raps & Taps* (Richmond, Virginia:1928), 47, St. Christopher's School Archives.
[177] *Raps & Taps* (Richmond, Virginia:1928), 115.

Jackson societies. During and after his tenure, students describing the namesakes of their literary societies proclaimed that more than merely leaders, Lee and Jackson were men who were "great heroes of the South," who were "the two greatest and purest Confederate soldiers."[178] Chamberlayne chose these figures as emblematic of ideal southern leaders, emphasizing their roles as Confederate leaders and diligent college students in addition to their faith.[179] As an ordained Episcopal priest, Chamberlayne followed suit with many other southern Protestant ministers who sought to uphold "[t]he myth of the Crusading Christian Confederates."[180] Historian Charles Reagan Wilson argues that this myth served to ensure that Confederate values survived despite defeat. Southern clergy did so by emphasizing the morality and faith of Confederate leaders, as well as their ability to overcome adversity.[181] Chamberlayne's sermon notes reveal how he referenced Lee as a Christian example, teaching his students to revere him not only as a military leader, but also as a southern Christian gentleman. [182] Outside the pulpit, Chamberlayne encouraged students to identify with the namesakes of their literary societies, by illustrating the academic struggles of Jackson at West Point in *The Pine Needle*. "Jackson's hardest battle was the one fought day after day during the long years of his student life…Beginning at the very bottom of his class...he climbed slowly, but steadily upward," noted Chamberlayne in his article entitled "Jackson's Greatest Victory."[183] Chamberlayne implemented

[178] Ibid., 47; Hankins, 153 from *The Pine Needle* June 3,1943.
[179] Hankins, 17.
[180] Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009 ed.), 38.
[181] Ibid., 38-40.
[182] C.G. Chamberlayne sermon notes, not dated, MSS1 C3552e FA2, 10,664-10,703, page 4, Chamberlayne Family Papers, VA Museum of History and Culture, Richmond, Virginia.
[183] C.G. Chamberlayne, "Jackson's Greatest Victory," *The Pine Needle*, Richmond, Virginia, March 31 1916, reprinted in De Witt Hankins, *The First Fifty Years: A History of St. Christopher's School, 1911-1961*(Richmond: The St. Christopher's School Foundation, 1961), 16.

the rhetoric of the Lost Cause that connected Protestant Christian morality with Confederate leaders in his school through his sermons and published work in *The Pine Needle*.

While New England boarding schools pointed back to their beginnings around the American Revolution, Chamberlayne incorporated Confederate artifacts and commemoration to point back to a suitable past for the school.[184] Every year included field trips to Petersburg,Virginia, to both battlefields and Confederate graveyards, where students collected buried artifacts such as belt buckles and shrapnel. The school's first shot-put was a Confederate cannonball; Chamberlayne also used one as a doorstop.[185] Even the schools colors of red and gray bore striking resemblance to the colors of Confederate uniforms.[186] Along with Virginia's state government, St. Christopher's celebrated Jackson's birthday when Chamberlayne was headmaster with student readings on Jackson's life and Jackson society members singing "Me and Stonewall Jackson."[187] Northeastern boarding schools at the time that promoted a regional mythic past while welcoming and celebrating the students they drew from across the country.[188] In a clear sign of difference, St. Christopher's traditions linked to the Lost Cause reflect the student body made up of Virginia boys.

The creation of student clubs modeled after those born at older elite universities infused the school with a sense of prestige and academic heritage. The student honor council and the honor code inculcated norms of gender relating to an idealized wealthy white gentleman of the antebellum South. Chamberlayne established a student-run honor council in 1915 that emulated the honor system at the University of Virginia. Students elected to the council were given the

[184] Phillips Andover Academy, *Pot Pourri* (Andover, Massachusetts: 1925), 18-9.
[185] Hankins, 10.
[186] Hankins, 185.
[187] Ibid., 17.
[188] Raphaelle Steinzig, "America's Heirs Presumptive: Boys' Boarding Schools in New England, 1877–1938," (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2013),129,152-3, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.

power to enforce the honor code, which prohibited lying, cheating, and stealing, and stated, "On my honor as a gentleman, I have neither given nor received help on this examination."[189] The school's honor code invoked ideas about the white chivalric honor code of the Old South, by linking honor in schoolwork to notions of gentlemanliness.[190]

In 1925, students organized the Monogram Club for students who received varsity letters from the school. It was entirely student run and members worked on raising funds for athletic equipment and sponsored an annual dance. The Monogram Club imitated the practices of college fraternities by initiating new members. They did so by hazing them in a violent manner severe enough to attract the attention of the administration who banned these practices in 1939.[191] While the Monogram Club used hazing as a form of creating social cohesion and hierarchy within the student body, by 1921 St. Christopher's boys founded the school's first secret society, "The 5's."[192] The 5's conveyed messages about norms of behavior and masculinity in both tapping exclusive members, and however they chose to make their existence known through limited secret yet public engagement with the rest of the school. The Monogram Club and The 5's both reveal how students created traditions built off the examples of elite universities, and in doing so helped prepare themselves to participate in social clubs and fraternities at these institutions.

Chapter Conclusion

The scholarship of Connell and Hobsbawm provide a framework for understanding the crucial role invented traditions played in creating gender regimes at St. Christopher's. Connell's article on masculinity and schools helps illuminate the ways in which St. Christopher's

[189] Hankins, 11.
[190] Craig Thompson Friend and Lorri Glover, *Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press: 2004), x.
[191] R. P. Hankins, Jr., "History of the C-Club Told: 1925-1962," *The Pine Needle*, December 20, 1962, 6.
[192] Hankins, 67.

manufactured ideas about gender through its organization and division of labor, in addition to its more outright inculcation of ideals of manhood. Hobsbawm's work on inventing tradition can help reveal how St. Christopher's invented traditions to legitimize the institution and establish social cohesion around ideas about white southern masculinity.[193] Both gender and tradition were being invented and reinvented at the school, mutually enforcing one another and veiling changing notions of masculinity along the way. Scholarship on gender and invented tradition are especially useful in analyzing white upper-class southern masculinity, due the claims of these men that they were merely holding on to a traditional social order. If taken at face value, affluent white men's assertions that they ascribed to an unchanging idealized southern manhood end up masking the ways in which they organized and reorganized gender regimes in order to maintain hegemony.

As the fiftieth year of classes began in 1961, St. Christopher's students and looked back at the not-so-distant-past in an effort to commemorate the half-century of their school history.[194]Yet in the midst of this commemoration, women from their sister school, St. Catherine's, were about enter their campus and threaten a gender regime more than any group had in the schools date. Analyzing the ways St. Christopher's students created traditions and conceptions of masculinity helps to contextualize the response of St. Christopher's students who felt the entrance of these women to their campus was such an assault on their way of life. It will further illuminate how this curriculum exchange further entrenched a gendered curriculum at the school.

[193]Hobsbawm, 9.
[194] Pine Needle Editorial Staff, "Editorials: Lessons of the First 50 Years," *The Pine Needle*, November 10 1961, 2.

III. GENDER INTEGRATION AT ST. CHRISTOPHER'S

"Perhaps were are a bit staid, but we hope the female invasion will not alter the school's tradition."
-*The Pine Needle* Editorial Staff, April 27, 1962

Chapter Introduction

In 1962, St. Christopher's School in Richmond, Virginia commemorated its founder Dr. Churchill Gibson Chamberlayne and invoked his name often in their celebration of their fiftieth anniversary. However, their school had changed significantly since his passing in the 1930s. Although Chamberlayne's sermons often emphasized discipline as an essential aspect of an idealized white manhood, the 1960s ushered in a more reactionary spirit in St. Christopher's boys. Outside the bubble surrounding the school, state representatives were resisting federal orders to integrate public schools, as social movements of the decade including civil rights movements, teen culture, and the sexual revolution called into question gender and racial discrimination and hierarchies. Inside the West End of Richmond, St. Christopher's and its sister school St. Catherine's were negotiating a curriculum exchange program. St. Christopher's was facing its own form of integration on campus.

Looking at the gender integration of St. Christopher's will help illuminate shifting ideas of manhood as the male students faced the threat of co-education. Although students continued to call upon traditions and to emphasize what had *not* changed at their school, gender and racial integration challenged their upper-class notions of white masculinity predicated on the myth of southern paternalism.[195] The gentility often attributed to men of an elite white background in the

[195] J. Douglas Smith, *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politics, and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 4.

South is not evident in the yearbooks and newspapers that St. Christopher's boys produced in the sixties. Examining both racial integration of public schools in Richmond and Virginia alongside the gender integration of St. Christopher's in the early 1960s helps reveal how St. Christopher's students appropriated the language of massive resistance in response to the limited enrollment of women on their campus.

This chapter will also show how St. Catherine's School promoted some changing ideas about white Southern womanhood, resulting in the expansion of science classes offered through the curriculum exchange with St. Christopher's. A few St. Catherine's students embraced cultural feminist impulses of the sixties and the opportunity to attend classes at St. Christopher's, verbally challenging St. Christopher's students who resisted their presence at an all-boys school. Despite these changes, broader student culture at St. Catherine's promoted traditional notions of Southern white femininity that complemented St. Christopher's gender regime.

St. Christopher's students' response to racial integration at their school additionally illuminates how upper-class white men sought to distinguish themselves from lower and middle-class white men. They lacked racial solidarity with middle and lower-class whites, characterizing them as rural and uneducated. St. Christopher's boys feared the integration of wealthy white women more than black men due to their access to money, elite education, and privilege that had the power to challenge the status of explicitly male gendered spaces and traditions of the school.

The Brother-Sister School Relationship prior to the Curriculum Exchange

Following its incorporation into the city limits, Westhampton was no longer a bucolic retreat, but an area that signified wealth and status.[196] With a larger student body and a long

[196] Harrison and Bates Incorporated Realtors, "Westhampton," Advertisement, *The Times Dispatch*, August 28, 1960, D-19.

waitlist following the *Brown v. Board* decision, St. Christopher's looked to the future and to expanding their facilities and curriculum.[197] One of these new changes was the discussion surrounding a curriculum exchange with its sister school, St. Catherine's. St. Catherine's was founded in 1890 by Virginia Randolph Ellet as a college preparatory school for women.[198] The schools were both part of the Episcopal Diocese after both had moved to Westhampton, and had enjoyed affiliation as partner institutions since the Diocese purchased them in 1920. Although students often complained that the relationship between the schools was not close enough, the schools were held together tightly by social connections between students and their parents.[199]

Despite limited interactions during school hours, students from both St. Christopher's and St. Catherine's were familiar with one another from social connections between day students and their families. Many of the day students came from families that sent their daughters to St. Catherine's and their sons to St. Christopher's, and who resided in neighborhoods in Richmond's Near West End. The schools were located a little over a half a mile away from each other in Westhampton, separated only by three residential blocks. Walking between the schools took a little over ten minutes. This proximity often translated to informal social gatherings among students of both schools. Doc. White's, a pharmacy located at Maple and Grove avenue next to St. Catherine's, was the most common meeting site.[200] Day students at both schools enjoyed

[197] Jo Hyde, "Finance, Not Philosophy, Blamed for School Faults," *The Richmond Times Dispatch*, Jan 9, 1958, 6.
[198] Eliza McGeehee, "Educating the modern woman: Girls' college preparatory schools in Virginia, 1900-1930," (Master's Thesis, James Madison University, 2015), ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, 25.
[199] "St. C-Ↄ St.," *The Pine Needle*, January 4, 1966, 2.
[200] Gregory J. Gilligan, "Discover Richmond Communities: Libbie & Grove," *The Richmond Times Dispatch,* June 4, 2015.https://www.richmond.com/discover-richmond/libbie-and-grove; St. Catherine's School, *Quair* (Richmond, Virginia:1963), 37.

more autonomy than boarding students did, and often spent time at Doc's for gossip and fountain sodas after school and on weekends.

In addition to this neighborhood spot, many of the St. Christopher's and St. Catherine's families were members of the nearby Country Club of Virginia (CCV), which was within walking distance of both schools. Although other clubs such as the Commonwealth Club and women's clubs often hosted dances, by the fifties and sixties membership at CCV became an important signifier of wealth and status in Richmond. The correlation between CCV membership and private schooling in the city was palpable as St. Christopher's tennis team played on their courts.[201] In addition to offering recreational venues including a pool, golf courses, and tennis court, CCV began hosting what would become the most important debutante ball in the Central Virginia region—the *Bal du Bois*—in 1957. A large number of St. Catherine's students came out to society at the *Bal du Bois* at CCV.[202] The shift of the premier debutante dance to CCV from downtown clubs starting in the late fifties helps to illuminate how Richmond's West End became synonymous with Richmond society.

Students at both schools interacted in a limited capacity at school sponsored events outside classroom hours, through sporting events and a joint theater program. After school and on weekends, the St. Catherine's students faithfully attended St. Christopher's football games to show their support, despite their formal exclusion from all-male cheerleading squads.[203] Female sponsors of St. Christopher's sports teams were often the sisters of athletes who attended St. Catherine's. The schools increasingly pooled their resources during the 1950s. They combined both theater and glee club during this time period. The St. Kit's players, the first co-ed theater

[201] St. Christopher's School, *Raps & Taps* (Richmond, Virginia:1967), 133, St. Christopher's School Archives.
[202] Frances Claiborne Guy, "Gaiety and Giving will be Combined at Bal du Bois," *The Richmond Times Dispatch*, May 21,1957.
[203] Pine Needle Editorial Staff, "EDITORIAL," The Pine Needle, October 15th 1948.

company between the schools, debuted their first play in 1949.[204] Despite the strong social ties among St. Christopher's and St. Catherine's students and joint extracurricular activities, St. Christopher's school students cherished and defended their tradition of single-sex classrooms.

Analysis of the Reactions to St. Catherine's Students

Beginning in the early 1960s, a stirring in the student body of St. Christopher's started. Boys had caught wind that some St. Catherine's girls had voiced to their administrators and teachers that they wanted to go to St. Christopher's to take upper level science and math courses St. Catherine's did not offer.[205] Although by the 1960s St. Catherine's began preparing their students for careers outside of secretarial roles and motherhood, the curriculum at St. Catherine's was considerably stronger in the humanities than it was in the sciences. Since the schools had successfully merged the theater arts programs, the heads of both schools, at the time Dr. Robert W. Bugg at St. Christopher's and Susanna Turner at St. Catherine's, thought a curriculum exchange could help accommodate those high achieving seniors at St. Catherine's who desired higher caliber course in order to prepare for college and a careers in science and medicine.

The news that a few St. Catherine's students would be entering campus for classes and not as their dance dates created considerable emotional responses from St. Christopher's students. This change ushered in an era when the boys felt the need to assert their claim on the school in order to maintain the current gender regime. Although the reactions to the limited gender integration varied from boy to boy, general trends existed both in how the boys responded to women and what characteristics of womanhood they sought to elevate or disparage. This chapter will focus specifically on the reactions documented in the St. Christopher's school

[204] Fred Sale, Jr., "Second Performance is Easier for Author-Director Vergason," *The Richmond Times Dispatch,* March 16,1957, 5.
[205] Terry Sands, "Schools Will Integrate: Girls to Attend in Fall," *The Pine Needle,* April 27,1962,1.

newspaper, *The Pine Needle*, in the 1960s. St. Christopher's masculinity in crisis helps to illuminate how their notions of masculinity adapted when challenged and what they sought to do in order to maintain hegemony under threat.[206] The responses of St. Catherine's girls also reveal changing ideas of Southern womanhood among the student body and administrators that both ceded to and challenged traditional notions of gender.

The administrations of both schools had no intentions of formally merging their schools. Merely looking at the responses of St. Christopher's boys to women entering their beloved Chamberlayne Hall might suggest women's attendance was a full scale merger. However, as soon as *The Richmond Times Dispatch* reported on mixed classes in 1963, headmaster Robert Bugg advised that mixed gender classes were "limited," making it definitive proclaiming, "'we're not going co-ed.'"[207] *The Pine Needle* even reported as early as spring of 1962 that the headmasters had asserted the change "for the purpose of combining educational facilities." Still, the threat was real for St. Christopher's boys.[208]

Massive Resistance to Integration of Public Schools in Richmond, 1954-1965

Virginia politicians often prided themselves on the myth of their genteel paternalism governing racial politics in the state. They condemned states in the Deep South for their outwardly violent attacks and lynchings. The myth of the "Virginia Way," however, was challenged following decades of African American civil rights activism that led to the Supreme Court *Brown v. Board of Education of Topek*a ruling in 1954.[209] White Virginians decided to band together with the rest of the South in resisting federal court orders by launching "massive

[206] Pine Needle Editorial staff, "Here Come the Girls," April 27, 1962, 2.
[207] Scotty McCue, "4 St. Catherine's Girls Take Classes at St. Christopher's," *The Richmond Times Dispatch*, Sept. 21, 1963, 7.
[208] Terry Sands, "Schools Will Integrate: Girls to Attend in Fall," *The Pine Needle*, April 27,1962,1.
[209] William P Hustwit, *James J. Kilpatrick: salesman for segregation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 27.

resistance" to integration in the state. Governor Stanley formed a commission of state representatives, known as the Gray Commission that advocated for a pupil placement board, funding for students who wished to attend a segregated private school, and removed the compulsory attendance law which would limit integration to a token few students and school.[210] Senator Harry F. Byrd ignored their calls, instead favoring the rhetoric of segregationist James J. Kilpatrick that argued that *Brown* was an infringement on state sovereignty and Virginia schools should remain completely segregated. [211] Byrd proclaimed the phrase of "massive resistance" for the first time while in D.C., arguing that if all the Southern states banded together the rest of the country would acknowledge that the South would never integrate.[212]

State legislators echoed Byrd's call in the 1956 assembly meeting by passing twenty-three acts that sought to stop integration.[213] Yet massive resistance began to unravel when counties and cities decided to close their schools instead of integrate. The state Supreme Court ruled that these closings were unconstitutional in 1959, leading governor Lindsay Almond, elected in 1957 on a strictly segregationist platform, to publically abandoned massive resistance in its then current form.[214] School districts in Norfolk and Arlington successfully integrated that year, but Richmond officials continued to use the Pupil Placement Board to veil their continued effort to keep virtually all schools segregated. Even without closing the schools, pupil placement boards and housing segregation continued Virginia's passive resistance to integration.

Throughout the fifties and sixties, white Virginian segregationists and moderates used both coded and blatantly racist language to express their opposition to the racial integration of

[210]Robert A. Pratt, *The Color of Their Skin: Education and Race in Richmond, Virginia, 1954-89* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1992), 5.
[211] Pratt, 5-6.
[212] Ibid., 6.
[213] Ibid., 8.
[214] Ibid., 9-11.

public schools. One of the most outspoken creators of this language in Richmond was James J. Kilpatrick, a writer for conservative newspaper *The Richmond News Leader,* and later a central figure in Southern political thought promoting white supremacy and segregation. Kilpatrick's published work, including *The Southern Case for School Segregation*, relied on both scientific racism and arguments regarding "interposition," or state sovereignty to resist federal laws.[215]

St. Christopher's students appropriated this rhetoric of massive resistance to talk about the "female integration" of their school in 1962.[216] Looking at the responses of St. Christopher's students to young women entering their campus reveal how St. Christopher's students feared women would call into question their male dominion on school grounds in the same way that white segregationists feared that integration would dismantle white supremacist ideology predicated on the idea of "innate racial inferiority."[217]

In the spring of 1962, St. Christopher's students prepared for the impending gender integration of their secluded idyllic campus. The change was four months away, but the editors of *The Pine Needle* already warned their fellow students of the female disruption to their campus that would consist of a few St. Catherine's seniors taking advanced math, chemistry, and physics at St. Christopher's.[218] Despite the fact that this exchange would go both ways, as St. Catherine's offered classes in music theory, art history, and modern languages that St. Christopher's did not, St. Christopher's students expressed little intrigue, apprehension, or excitement about the prospect of attending classes at their sister school. Instead, they fixated on what the implications of women disrupting their male gendered space might look like. Editors of the school newspaper cautioned their fellow classmates about this progressive move by illuminating its potentially

[215] Hustwit, 70.
[216] Lowndes Wilson, "The Art Club President Greets Girls," *The Pine Needle*, June 7-8 1962, 5.
[217] Pratt, 29.
[218] "Here Come the Girls," 2.

damaging consequences to their school's fifty year tradition of a rigorous academic curriculum. They began by questioning, "Will the mixture of boys and girls in the classroom lower the level of academic effectiveness?"[219] Suggesting that women might lower the academic integrity of the school echoed the angry calls of segregationists in the Commonwealth such as Byrd's response to the *Brown* decision, where he argued that, "...instead of promoting the education of our children, it is my belief that it will have the opposite effect."[220]

St. Christopher's students voiced additional concerns that women would be a distraction in the classroom. This preoccupation with women being distracting to men and thus not worthy of entering courses remained central to arguments against gender integration, and later on, co-education.[221] The notion that women would be distracting was founded on highlighting only women's sexuality. This obsession with sexual corruption of the classroom due to mix gender classes mirrors those of white supremacists, like Governor Almond who claimed that racially mixed classrooms had a "livid stench of sadism, sex immorality, and juvenile pregnancy."[222] Although segregationists' fear of mixed classes developed from a fear of interracial relationships between students, there was a connection between the way both St. Christopher's boys and segregationists feared a change would encourage sexual deviance and separation was a way to ensure sexual purity.

Pine Needle editors worried most about how the few mixed gender classes at their school may affect its culture or "general tone." More than a potential classroom disturbance, St. Christopher's students voiced their fear of how St. Catherine's girls might "cause a drastic

[219] "Here Come The Girls," 2.
[220] Statement by Senator Harry F. Byrd,Sr., Address May 17, 1954 Broadside 1954 .B97, Albert H. Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.
[221] "Here Come the Girls," 2.
[222] J. Lindsay Almond School Integration Speech, 20 January 1959 (WRVA–386), *WRVA Radio Collection*, Accession 38210, Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

change in the outlook of the male student body." Focusing on traditions they thought might be threatened by the merger, students predicted the possibility of "female cheerleaders" replacing the "male rabble rousers," which would disturb a strong tradition linked to performing masculinity outside of playing sports.[223] Similarly, white supremacists often cited desegregation as an assault on Virginia's tradition of racism and Jim Crow segregation.[224] White male Virginians often invoked tradition as a respectable and peaceful sounding way of asserting their hegemony that they maintained in the case of racial segregation through breaking federal law, violence, and intimidation.

Although the disturbances St. Christopher's students cited may seem minimal, the military imagery they proceeded to use toward the close of their article reveals their militancy in maintaining male hegemony in their school. They went so far as to classify limited enrollment of a few girls as a "female invasion" of their campus; one that warranted resistance by St. Christopher's boys, stating, "After fifty years of male supremacy we find the thought of surrender somewhat unsettling."[225] This language not only emulated Kilpatrick's conception of Supreme Court mandates to integrate as a federal invasion that the South needed to resist, but also makes clear how St. Christopher's students conceptualized their school as an explicitly masculine space with clearly defined borders. The author's use of the word "somewhat" additionally emulates the language of Virginia segregationists who sought to modify their language to appeal to the long-held notion among Virginia's elite that their brand of white supremacy was less aggressive than that of the Deep South.[226] The prospect of a few women stepping foot in the school building could call into question St. Christopher's boys' sovereignty

[223] "Here Come the Girls," 2.
[224] "Here Come the Girls," 2; J. Lindsay Almond School Integration Speech.
[225] J. Lindsay Almond Integration Speech.
[226] Smith, *Managing White Supremacy*, 276.

in this space, illuminating how intertwined notions of gender were to school traditions both inside and outside the classroom.

In his *Pine Needle* article entitled "Girls Invade Hallowed Grounds," Eugene Ford highlighted biological differences between St. Catherine's girls and St. Christopher's boys, suggesting their disruption of a prior order.[227] Despite the smoothly functioning mixed gender classes—at the time of his article women had been in classes for a few weeks—Ford felt compelled to narrate the student body's response to women in the hallways and classrooms, writing, "'How did they ever pass the physical?' one wondered to the other as one entered the advanced chemistry class to be befuddled by the sight of two new students. These two creatures went unexplained until an exceptionally bright biology student remembered an obscure branch of *Homo Sapiens* known as 'female.'" [228] His writing accentuates the physical differences between the young women and themselves, intentionally albeit comically othering them for their biological differences. His article continues to allude to the gendered borders that had previously contained the young women at St. Catherine's by referring to these women as completing a "pioneer venture," and the boys who attended languages courses at St. Catherine's as entering a "new frontier."[229]

Ensuring Male Hegemony: Space and Representation

St. Christopher's boys continued to assert their masculinity on campus by creating a more exclusive gendered space on campus— the Smoking Club. The Smoking Club replicated clubs of wealthy and powerful men in Richmond. Reports in 1962 on the Smoking Club poked fun at the lack of funds the club had to make a formal space with ashtrays and priceless art on the walls,

[227] Eugene Ford, "Girls Invade Hallowed Grounds," *The Pine Needle*, October 5, 1962, 5.
[228] Ford, 5.
[229] Ford, 5.

but noted that it "resembles very closely an exclusive eating establishment such as the Downtown Club or even the famous Commonwealth Club."[230] The Commonwealth Club had an important history in Virginia politics as a secretive establishment and is believed to be where many lawmakers on both the city and state level made important decisions with regard to the mechanisms of segregation in the city.[231] Instead of creating more spaces for interaction with female students, St. Christopher's boys retreated to exclusive masculine spaces that replicated those frequented by powerful white male leaders from Richmond and lawmakers in town for the General Assembly. It is also important to note that these boys sought to emulate the private dining rooms of upper-class white men, joking that, "contrary to popular belief, the Monogram Club is only a nouveau riche imitation" of the Smoking Club.[232] Even the title of the article "The Smoking Club Strikes Back" alludes to how St. Christopher's boys emphasized the importance of a masculine space in reaction to gendered integration, and saw themselves as the inheritors and gatekeepers of an "old money" social tradition of white female exclusion from political power in the state.

In addition to creating exclusive spaces to assert their masculine hegemony, St. Christopher's boys additionally leveraged their recent affiliation with St. Catherine's as a means to assert their hegemony over other boys' schools in the state. One anonymous contributor to *The Pine Needle* highlighted the importance of the St. Catherine's girls to the St. Christopher's boy's experience, namely their pretty faces.[233] He encouraged his fellow male classmates to see the

[230] Johnny Coates, "The Smoking Club Strikes Back," *The Pine Needle*, May 18,1962, 4.
[231] Julian Maxwell Hayter, *The Dream is Lost: Voting Rights and Politics of Race in Richmond, Virginia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2017), 76. In *The Dream is Lost*, Hayter describes how it is likely that the Commonwealth Club was where three state senators and congressmen who were members of the club decided to request that the state pass a bill to amend the laws regarding voting for city council and the length of council terms to ensure an all-white city council.
[232] "Commonwealth Club Plans Major Expansion of Facilities,"*The Richmond Times Dispatch*, March 7 1956, 2; Coates,4.
[233] "A Student's Views on St. Catherine's Girls," *The Pine Needle*, April 9, 1963, 5.

advantage St. Catherine's students gave them over their rival schools, noting that "St. Catherine's is responsible for our superiority to Woodberry and Episcopal. We've got the girls that they always want to come and see. Tough luck boys."[234] Before women began attending classes, St. Christopher's students' ideas of manhood most definitely involved romantic relationships with women, but during the sixties St. Christopher's students began to believe that they could use young women as a means of asserting dominance among other elite male boarding schools in Virginia. While other boarding schools did not face the palpable threat of a merger in the way St. Christopher's students did, St. Christopher's students argued that if limited to attending their dances and athletic events, this relationship was one that made them superior to those who lacked close proximity to a sister school.

Despite protectionist calls from the editors of *The Pine Needle*, the sixties brought about an increase in the representation of women in the columns and cartoons of the newspaper and the school yearbook, *the Raps and Taps*. This increased visibility did not mean that the words and thoughts of St. Catherine's girls were always represented. In fact, if the paper was not quoting the words of St Catherine's girls, it usually featured cartoons of women's bodies, commented on women's appearances, or included women as a means of asserting their own sexuality.

Although one could argue that the sexual revolution, rock and roll, and teen culture in general may have led St. Christopher's students to include more representations of sexualized women in their newspaper, the proliferation of these images coincided with the year women stepped foot on their campus as students. A similar backlash occurred with regard to Confederate flags and derogatory racist remarks once St. Christopher's students concerned themselves with racial integration later in the decade. A cartoon in an article of *The Pine Needle* depicted a

[234] "A Student's Views on St. Catherine's Girls," 5.

Playboy bunny wearing a St. Christopher's sweatshirt and dreaming about a woman dressed for the winter dance and a woman wearing a revealing bathing suit on the beach.[235] The *Raps & Taps* in 1967 included pictures of boarders' cottages with students reading *Mad Magazine* and *Playboy*, with even the Student Council page featuring a picture of members gazing into the pages of a *Playboy*.[236] While many of these images did not depict St. Catherine's girls, those that did functioned to restrict womanhood to depictions that emphasized physical beauty and sexuality as opposed to their role as students or athletes. However, after the first few weeks of co-ed classes at St. Christopher's, *Pine Needle* illustrator Barry Kean drew a cartoon of a St. Catherine's student in a revealing dress lighting a man's pipe, and entitled it: "The Girls Come to St. C." [237] Considering that St. Catherine's girls would not have been allowed to wear a dress so revealing to a school dance, let alone to school, shows that St. Christopher's boys sought to elevate the sexuality of these women while erasing their intelligence and identity as academic students. St. Christopher's students depicted these women in recreational settings as a means of placing boundaries around their classrooms that they believed were a sacred male space.

In addition to sexually objectifying St. Catherine's girls in school publications following their enrollment, St. Christopher's students published countless photos of informal and school sponsored social gatherings in the pages of the school annual—*the Raps & Taps*—that sought to elevate physical beauty as the most important characteristic of St. Catherine's women. A lot of the photos seem to allude to some form of romantic or sexual conquest at the expense of the unsuspecting women pictured, but some captions blatantly criticized young women's appearance. Editors of the 1962 *Raps & Taps* captioned a photo of couples of girls and boys

[235] Barry Kean, "Summer Thoughts and Winter," Cartoon, *The Pine Needle*, September 29, 1961, 4.
[236] St. Christopher's School, *Raps & Taps* (Richmond, Virginia: 1966), 79, St. Christopher's School Archives.
[237]Barry Kean, "The Girls Come to St. C," Cartoon, *The Pine Needle*, September 29, 1961, 4.

seated at a table at a school dance, "Hang loose Stevens, she isn't that cute."[238] Although the most surprising part of this is that the school allowed these boys to print these photos while it promoted ideals of gentlemanliness, St. Christopher's students drew cartoons and included pictures that portrayed women as sexual objects. Far from being represented as part of the academic life of the school, they used their likenesses to prove St. Christopher's boys' sexual and social prowess.

The same academic year of gender integration at St. Christopher's, the editors of *The Pine Needle* propagated ideas that valued St. Catherine's girls' beauty over their identity as students. The "Miss Pine Needle Contest"[239] debuted in May of 1963 with entry requirements limited to a picture of the applicant. Although the paper claimed that contestants would be judged on "personality, grades, looks, and extracurricular activities," the end of the same article described the judging criteria as "beauty, etc.," and proceeded to list the next three as asides to the main criterium of physical appearance.[240] Reporting on the reaction of both St. Catherine's and St. Christopher's students to the contest illustrated "boys were rapidly compiling information on girls and assorting photographs from their files," while "girls were desperately trying to gather in the pictures they had innocently handed out."[241] These "active spy rings" that *The Pine Needle* reported on illuminate how the Miss Pine Needle contest, although endorsed by the St. Catherine's newspaper, was a way for St. Christopher's boys to create and control concrete social hierarchies between women in accordance with their evaluations of female beauty.[242]

Debates Over Performing Gender: Cheerleading

[238] St. Christopher's School, *Raps & Taps* (Richmond, Virginia:1962), 108, St. Christopher's School Archives.
[239] "Miss P.N. Contest Raises Enthusiasm," *The Pine Needle,* May 3rd 1963, 1.
[240] "Miss P.N. Contest Raises Enthusiasm," 1.
[241] Ibid.
[242] Ibid.

Along with the debate in the sixties surrounding the brother-sister school relationship and mixed gender classes, was an ongoing dialogue between St. Christopher's and St. Catherine's students about allowing St. Catherine's students to cheerlead at St. Christopher's games. As explained in the previous chapter, cheerleading at St. Christopher's did not involve acrobatics, but was a way to perform masculinity off the field or court. Other notable all-boys schools in Virginia had similar cheerleading teams that were all male, inviting women as St. Christopher's did to attend their sports teams as fans.[243] St. Christopher's students did not come to a consensus regarding whether or not to allow St. Catherine's students to formally cheer for them, but following years of debate, St. Christopher's decided to maintain its all-male squad. Looking at the debates surrounding St. Catherine's girls cheering for St. Christopher's helps reveal how St. Christopher's traditions were strongly linked to gender performance.

As soon as St. Christopher's newspaper writers questioned St. Catherine's students about their experience taking classes at St. Christopher's, the St. Catherine's students responded to their interviewers by questioning why St. Christopher's had not asked them to cheer at their games.[244] The responses of St. Christopher's students varied, with some students noting that it was a "pretty good idea, since it may promote more spirit for both teams," while others simply ignored these requests. In December of 1966, Nancy Jones, one of the head cheerleaders at St. Catherine's, petitioned for the opportunity to cheer for St. Christopher's, proclaiming: "we (the cheerleaders) would like to and would consider it an honor if we could cheer for St. Christopher's." The beginning of her letter, however, highlights the ambiguous stance St. Christopher's students had taken up until that point with regard to allowing St. Catherine's

[243]Pine needle talking about woodberry all boys cheerleader article
[244] "St. Cats Girls at St. Chris," *The Pine Needle,* June 4-5, 1964, 10.

cheerleaders at their games: “For the past three years I have wondered why the St. Catherine’s cheerleaders did not cheer for the St. Christopher’s games.”[245] While St. Catherine’s students regularly attended St. Christopher’s sporting events, St. Catherine’s students did not receive the same treatment from St. Christopher’s at their field hockey games. St. Catherine’s girls encouraged St. Christopher’s boys to attend their athletic events, and often used their space on *The Pine Needle*’s pages to advertise upcoming games. Ellen Ford, member of the 1966 St. Catherine’s field hockey team, highlighted this disparity in attendance, and encouraged male spectators by pointing out the similarities between the game of football and the game of field hockey.[246] The disparity between attendance at field hockey games at St. Catherine’s and football games at St. Christopher’s shows how St. Christopher’s students privileged male sporting events strongly tied to their school’s tradition, culture, and ideas of manhood.

Jones’s letter was one of many exchanged regarding the brother-sister schools and the implications of that relationship, especially with regard to social functions between each school. St. Christopher’s students excluded St. Catherine’s students from events on their campus, while complaining that St. Catherine's students did not prioritize them. St. Christopher’s students voiced their disdain for the boys who came to their school dances as the dates of St. Catherine’s girls. They made this clear to both the St. Catherine’s girls and their dates, even going so far as to disqualify a student from Christchurch School in eastern Virginia, who won a turkey from a raffle at a St. Christopher’s holiday dance. Clay Minor proclaimed to *The Pine Needle*, “If anyone is going to win that turkey it’s going to be a St. C boy or no one.”[247] Despite their minimal track record at St. Catherine’s sporting events and hostility toward the young women

[245] Nancy Jones, “Letters to the Editors: *Cheerleading, St. C. Expansion*,” *The Pine Needle*, December 2, 1966, 2.
[246] Ellen Ford, “St. Cats Seeks Boys at Hockey,” *The Pine Needle*, December 3, 1965, 3.
[247] Tom Merrick, “Dance is Huge Success,” *The Pine Needle*, December 20, 1962, 6.

infiltrating the halls of Chamberlayne Hall, St. Christopher's students clung to ideas of paternalism in which St. Catherine's students must remain faithful to them as a brother school.

When asked about the brother-sister relationship in 1966, Jack Sands criticized St. Catherine's students who cheered against St. Christopher's, noting the "the most detrimental effect they can inflict on this relationship is to march down to St. Christopher's...to sit on the visitor's side, cheering at the top of their lungs against St. Christopher's." Despite noting that it was these young women's "prerogative" to cheer for whomever they liked, he argued, "they should feel some embarrassment in yelling against us."[248] His proposed solution did not involve any sort of merging of academic life, but rather the implementation of more school dances, mixers, and joint theater performances.

When St. Catherine's students chartered a bus to go watch the annual Woodberry/Episcopal rivalry game, St. Christopher's students were appalled. The boys signed and sent a petition to St. Catherine's to come to their football game instead.[249] St. Catherine's students formally responded to the petition by lamenting the lack of relationship between the schools, but did not allude to any sort of perceived pact of loyalty they may have broken. Although some St. Catherine's students echoed their male counterparts with regard to increasing joint social functions, they often brought up St. Christopher's lack of attendance at their own athletic games, and sometimes proposed "scholastic" partnerships.[250] It is important to note that not all St. Christopher's boys discouraged female cheerleaders or hoped to exclude women from their classes, but those who voiced willingness to include women in more classes or as cheerleaders were often students who had attended co-educational high schools or middle

[248] Jack Sands, "Student Hot Box Considers: The Brother-Sister Schools," *The Pine Needle*, October 29, 1966, 2.
[249] "St. C-Ↄ St.," 2.
[250] Jo Jennings, "Student Hot Box Considers: The Brother-Sister Schools," *The Pine Needle*, October 29, 1966, 2

schools before St. Christopher's.[251] The homosocial curriculum and environment of St. Christopher's created traditions that valued masculine performance and the exclusion of women, making the presence of St. Catherine's a disruption to the function of this gender regime.

Despite a healthy debate among St. Christopher's students, by 1968 they made a firm decision to produce an all-male cheerleading squad. Calls from women to cheerlead, along with a general dissatisfaction with some of the all-male squads previously in the decade ultimately lead to St. Christopher's students stepping up to form a strong new squad in the fall. *The Pine Needle* commended the boys for their effort and documented their work much like they would an athletic team, naming all of the members, commenting on their striking outfits, and noting their "quickness, coordination, and agility." There was no mention of St. Catherine's supporters in the article, only a call to appreciate the squad of only St. Christopher's boys who had stepped up that year, "The cheerleaders ought to be commended for their effort, for they have really boosted school spirit, and we look forward to seeing them at many other games in the future."[252] In a year that included lots of changes for co-educational private schools in the state, St. Christopher's students asserted the power of their single-sex education, and the importance of performing masculinity as a way of exhibiting school spirit.

St. Catherine's Brand of Cultural Feminism and Racial Integration

By 1968, more elite institutions across the East Coast that had previously restricted women from full-time status began to open their doors to them. In Virginia, the University of Virginia (UVA) in Charlottesville began to consider admitting female students into their undergraduate program in the late sixties, as they already had female law and graduate

[251] Jennings, 2.
[252] "Cheerleaders Open Season," *The Pine Needle*, December 19,1968, 4.

students.[253] Smaller colleges like Washington & Lee (W&L) in Lexington, VA, with the explicit identity as male-only schools, also began to consider switching to a co-ed model, noting lower enrollment rates and a desire to continue to accept the most competitive students.[254] St. Christopher's students, many of whom attended all-male universities in the state such as UVA, W&L, Hampden Sydney in Farmville, and Virginia Military Institute in Lexington, and some Ivy League schools, took notice of these changes and responded to them in a *Pine Needle* editorial in 1968. Seven years later, they again made clear how a merger with St. Catherine's would damage the traditions and academic standards of their school. In addition to universities, the editors cited two prep schools in Virginia that "seem assured of a merger in the near future."[255] Although it is unclear what schools the editors were referencing, since the most prominent private boys schools in the state did not go fully co-ed until the late 1980s and 1990s, it is apparent that they were alarmed that the universities they planned to attend had now begun to accept women.

Whatever may have incited the St. Christopher's boys to take a strong stance on restricting the fusion of St. Catherine's and St. Christopher's, they argued that it was an issue of academic standards. They made it clear that women did not deserve to share academic spaces with them in their high school years due to normative expectations of a woman's future, questioning, "How can an ambitious young man get into college while an equally young female, whose only ambition in life is to marry, is out to get him[?]"[256] After six years of a curriculum exchange, St. Christopher's students no longer argued that St. Catherine's women were unintelligent, but rather assumed that these women had little interest in their future collegiate

[253] Daphne Spain, *Gendered Spaces*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 1992),157. Spain noted that UVA was "the last major state university" to go co-ed at the undergraduate level when it did in 1972.
[254] "W&L Students Fall in Love 11.2% Below National Rate," *The Richmond Times Dispatch*, December 14, 1969, D-10.
[255] Pine Needle Editorial Staff, "Co-Education For St. C.," *The Pine Needle*, November 27,1968, 2.
[256] "Co-education For St. C.," 2.

studies. Of course, it is clear that St. Christopher's students worried not only that these women would lower their standing at St. Christopher's, but also their chances of getting into certain colleges. They believed that St. Christopher's maintenance of a single-sex environment could help maintain those normative gender expectations for women, and discourage from pursuing further education and jobs in male dominated fields. In keeping with St. Christopher's boys desires for St. Catherine's students to remain a vibrant part of their school's social life without entering its academic one, male students used this coded language to argue that a co-ed school favored social life over academic, stating, "An institution with of such high standards as St. Christopher's should not be led astray by the actions of other schools in which social life takes precedence over the mental life."[257]

In response to St. Christopher's boys claiming that their goals merely involved getting married, St. Catherine's girls asserted their desire for careers and the importance of their academic presence in the classroom. *The Pine Needle* published responses from three St. Catherine's students in the following issue that included two long winded rebuttals critiquing the narrow mindedness and misogyny of St. Christopher's students. Junior Rennie Rollings, began her letter by acknowledging how the St. Christopher's students had portrayed young St. Catherine's girls as one-dimensional and different by noting their shared humanity, "Being a member of the human race and female, and part of a co-educational exchange between St. Christopher's and St. Catherine's, in that order." She proceeded to offer her "deepest sympathies" to them for being "that ubiquitous, conservative element of our society which for

[257] Ibid.

years has been too stubborn or afraid to open its eyes to the reality of a rapidly changing world."[258]

For Rollings, St. Christopher's boys lived in a "protective bubble," and alluded to their conservatism by asking them, "Do you wish to live in 1968 with pre world War I ideas?" She additionally critiqued their fear of losing dominion over the classrooms at St. Christopher's, noting their desire to "maintain such an egotistical superiority." Rollings made it clear in her critique that she attended classes at St. Christopher's due to her intellectual curiosity and graduate requirements, in contrast to how *The Pine Needle* portrayed the narrative of an enterprising female whose future wishes only involved getting married. She continued to critique their ideas of manhood predicated on the exclusion of women from their school, arguing, "If your sex is so weak that you are afraid of a small minority of eye-batting, 'ambitious' females, then I hope that you do confine yourselves otherwise, you might find the world a little rough on you." In order to mature, she contended, they must open themselves to future opportunities with women, or otherwise, in the altered words of Hamlet, they must "'Get thee to a monastery.'"[259] Rollings's critique of St. Christopher's shows a burgeoning cultural feminism in St. Catherine's students and their willingness to critique St. Christopher's conceptions of masculinity that intended to exclude women from scholastic parts of school life.

Joining Rollings's piece was another penned by fellow St. Catherine's juniors Lisa Montgomery and Nancy Elcock, who sought to educate St. Christopher's boys on young women's intellectual curiosity and the positive elements of co-education. Similar to Rollings, they critiqued St. Christopher's notions of manhood predicated on the maintenance of a single-

[258] Rennie Rollings, "*Letters to the Editors*: Editors Receive Flak From St. Cat.," *The Pine Needle,* December 19,1968, 2.
[259] Rollings, 2.

sex educational environment. They began by noting that "there are many women whose 'only ambition in life is NOT to marry' and that co-education was designed for those women who are genuinely interested in the acquisition of knowledge." Arguing that St. Christopher's opposition to co-education was merely out of ignorance, they insulted St. Christopher's students by suggesting, "perhaps your own association with members of the feminine sex has been neither frequent nor varied enough." In response to St. Christopher's students concern with their opportunities following graduation if women were to enter all their classes, the authors argued that successful men must interact with women in the professional world. Lastly, they exposed how St. Christopher's notions of manhood were predicated on falsehoods about St. Catherine's students revealing the fragility of these ideas:"In treating co-education as a pollution of St. Christopher's 'high standards'...you have merely displayed your own ignorance."[260] By 1968, St. Catherine's students felt compelled to respond directly to St. Christopher's portrayal of them in *The Pine Needle*, and in doing so exposed weaknesses in their notions of masculinity.

With regard to feminist impulses, it is important to note that St. Catherine's drew students from up and down the East Coast and across the country, whereas St. Christopher's boarders were mostly from within Virginia with a few from North Carolina. This larger geographic swath may help account for these girls' irreverence with regard to the accepted gender norms of St. Christopher's, St. Catherine's, and Richmond's West End. All three of the girls who wrote letters to the editors had not attended St. Catherine's for more than three years when they graduated. Elcock, from Greenwich, Connecticut, referred to herself as a "Yankee" in their senior yearbook. [261] Rollings and Montgomery were from smaller towns south of Richmond and in southwest

[260] Lisa Montgomery and Nancy Elcock, "*Letters to the Editors*: Editors Receive Flak From St. Cat.," *The Pine Needle*, December 19,1968, 2.
[261] St. Catherine's School, *Quair* (Richmond, Virginia:1969), 62.

Virginia. All three clearly took advantage of the co-curriculum model in its first few years, which implies that they took upper level science and math courses.

It is apparent that these young women clung to aspects of a burgeoning cultural feminism that lacked class consciousness. Rollings, in her letter to St. Christopher's noted that women had gained the right to vote in 1920 and incorrectly asserted that women "had long since earned equal job opportunities and wages with the opposite sex," which likely suggests that St. Catherine's educators instilled hope in these young women that they could work any job they wanted to and receive the same compensation as men. Still, looking at the quotes that these women chose in comparison to their classmates in the St. Catherine's annual, *The Quair*, shows that they likely had more progressive views with regard to gender politics than their classmates. Although St. Catherine's administrators pushed their students to embrace the changes that awaited them after graduation, they nevertheless supported a culture feminism that was predicated on an African American underclass performing domestic work.[262]

Beginning in the sixties, administrators at St. Catherine's began to encourage their students to pursue careers outside of teaching and social work such as medical technology, law, and psychology. The school sponsored career days and job fairs advertising an expanded collection of future career fields.[263] In the rest of the state, young women demanded equality in higher education in the Commonwealth by taking legal action to pursue degrees at the University of Virginia along with other women at elite institutions on the East Coast.[264] Although some of the rhetoric of second wave feminism appealed to young St. Catherine's students, the

[262] St. Catherine's School, *Quair* (Richmond, Virginia:1969), 49. Rollings's quote under her portrait reads :"Rules and models destroy genius and art," whereas the quote next to hers reads: "There is no spectacle on earth more appealing than that of a beautiful woman."
[263] Becky Hungerford, "St. Cat's News," *The Pine Needle*, February 23, 1966, 4.
[264] F. Richard Ciccone, "Shift to Coeds in Colleges Sweeps East Coast, *The Richmond Times Dispatch*, June 22 1969, F 1-2; Jane Kelly, "Going Co-Ed," *UVA Today*, last modified September 28, 2017, https://news.virginia.edu.

conservative culture of the West End valorized marriage for women and their participation as mothers in male breadwinner families. During the sixties, St. Catherine's day students consistently constituted a majority of Richmond's debutantes.[265] A large group of stay-at-home mothers of St. Catherine's day students helped teachers by chaperoning students at recess and during extracurricular activities.[266] While the school presented expanded career options to these young women, within many of their families women were encouraged to pursue lives as wives and mothers instead of careers.

The small feminist impulses at St. Catherine's were paired with an assertion of white supremacy as the school prepared for integration in 1968. Earlier in the century, St. Catherine's was affiliated with first wave feminism as an institution that educated wealthy white women beginning in 1890. Alumnae of the school and other educated white women in the state participated in the women's suffrage movement, whose platform included white supremacist ideology. Adele Clark, an alumna of the school and prominent figure in the League of Women Voters in Virginia, recalled in an interview how white women who assisted African American women in registering to vote were accused of being carpetbaggers and race traitors. [267] By the sixties, the students and administration of St. Catherine's paired cultural elements of second wave feminism with a clear defense of white southern womanhood through racist performances and racial divisions of labor at their school.

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[265] Jann Malone, "Private Girls' Schools Change in 10 Years," *The Richmond Times Dispatch,* March 3, 1974, C 1-2.

[266] Louise Ellyson, "Mothers Go to School and Everyone Benefits," *The Richmond Times Dispatch,* December 10, 1961, H-7.

[267]McGehee,146; Oral History Interview with Adele Clark, February 28, 1964. Interview G-0014-2. Southern Oral History Program Collection (#4007) in the Southern Oral History Program Collection, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

In 1964, St. Catherine's Board of Governors and Headmistress Turner voted to integrate the school, but it was not until 1968 that the first African American student, Vashti Jackson, enrolled in Kindergarten at the school.[268] The same year that Jackson enrolled, St. Catherine's "old girls" welcomed the "new girls" with the traditional Old Girl/New Girl party complete with singing and performances.[269] The 1968 *Quair* includes a picture of the event in which girls dressed in blackface and played guitars captioned: "We Shall Overcome."[270] Other social events drew upon negative racial stereotypes, such as the school-sponsored dance in 1964 that was jungle themed.[271] One of the yearbooks referenced the board's decision on integration in the caption of a picture of a young student wearing blackface.[272] However, unlike St. Christopher's, Confederate iconography was notably absent in their assertion of white supremacy. In addition to asserting white supremacy in school cultural production and extracurricular activities, the yearbook included photographs of food service workers, all who were African American, and it referred to them by first names and without titles. It was typical in the Jim Crow South for white southerners to exclude formal titles when speaking to a black person regardless of their age, but this picture also shows how St. Catherine's cultural feminism relied on the economic subjugation of African American men and women.

Much of what St. Catherine's championed regarding idealized southern womanhood either complemented or did not question St. Christopher's ideas about gender. Every year, the school voted a senior class member "Miss St. Catherine"—to honor a student who embodied the

[268] "Timeline: First Black Student Enrolls." *St. Catherine's School Website*. Accessed May 1 2019. www.st.catherines.org/about/history.
[269] "Old girls" were likely the upperclassmen.
[270] St. Catherine's School, *Quair* (Richmond, Virginia:1968), 49.
[271] St. Catherine's School, *Quair* (Richmond, Virginia:1966), 113.
[272] St. Catherine's School, *Quair* (Richmond, Virginia:1966), 73.

school's patron saint, St. Catherine of Alexandria.[273] Although the mythology surrounding the martyr emphasized her intelligence and brazen attitude, student culture championed different qualities in their classmates. Looking at *Quair* editions from 1960s, it is apparent that the school culture emphasized physical beauty in addition to or their academic achievements. Looking at senior's "dot dots"— the two lines of inside jokes underneath a yearbook picture of a senior— students mentioned dieting forty times throughout the decade. This count does not include praises toward classmates for their "model" or "perfect figure[s]."[274] In addition to commemorating women for their bodies, students also identified or commemorated them for their hair color (usually noting if blonde), hair styles, "sexy hair," being good at rolling their hair, or having dyed hair.[275] St. Catherine's resisted and complemented St. Christopher's ideas of white southern womanhood, with gender ideals of both schools predicated on white supremacy.

Whiteness and Class: St. Christopher's and Racial Integration

St. Christopher's students reactions to integration outside their school were varied, but students were much more concerned about the possibility of their school admitting women than admitting African American men. Like gender integration, St. Christopher's used comedy as a way to belittle African Americans, but spent significantly less space in their school periodicals to address racial integration. Similar to other elite private institutions in the South, St. Christopher's played a different role from segregation academies in the history of school integration.[276] Yes, St. Christopher's had an increasing waitlist as white segregationists faced the demise of massive

[273] St. Catherine's School, *Quair* (Richmond, Virginia:1964), 98.
[274] St. Catherine's School, *Quair* (Richmond, Virginia:1963), 48.
St. Catherine's School, *Quair* (Richmond, Virginia:1966), 16.
[275] St. Catherine's School, *Quair* (Richmond, Virginia:1968), 34.
[276] Michelle A. Purdy, *Transforming the Elite: Black Students and the Desegregation of Private Schools* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 3.

resistance, but unlike segregation academies, St. Christopher's had significantly high tuition, a longer history, more rigorous academics, and catered to more wealthy elites than white students leaving public schools.[277] Those who did transfer to St. Christopher's in the mid-1960s, presumably to avoid the integration of public schools throughout the state and in the city, did not necessarily acculturate to the school in the same ways as day students who had attended for thirteen years. In 1961 three students from Farmville, Virginia, where segregationists had notoriously shut down the school system to resist the *Brown* decision, graduated from St. Christopher's.[278] Although it is unclear if they had been boarding students for all of high school at St. Christopher's, or came just as their public schools closed, the day students still considered them as outside unrefined country boys, with math teacher David Boney referring to one of them as a "bumkin from Redneckville."[279] A student who transferred in the middle of the year in 1964 most likely to avoid the desegregation of his public school, was mocked in the yearbook, being described as a "redneck."[280] Although St. Christopher's did serve as a means for some students to avoid the desegregation of their schools, St. Christopher's day students and Richmond natives tried to distinguish themselves from those students who did by projecting school culture as urbane and refined.[281]

St. Christopher's did accept some students who transferred from public school or from segregation academies, but St. Christopher's students still addressed the Civil Rights Movement as more distant, abstract, and nonthreatening in comparison to the proposal of gender integration.

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[277] Mike Soffin, "Most Private Schools Are Full," *The Richmond Times Dispatch*, September 21, 1958, 4-A.
[278] St. Christopher's School, *Raps & Taps* (Richmond, Virginia:1962), 28-30, St. Christopher's School Archives.
[279] St. Christopher's School, *Raps & Taps* (Richmond, Virginia:1962), 28, St. Christopher's School Archives.
[280] St. Christopher's School, *Raps & Taps* (Richmond, Virginia:1965), 44, St. Christopher's School Archives.
[281] A 1965 yearbook page additionally critiqued the National Labor Relations Board for "ordering the reinstatement of an employee who threatened to 'kick the hell out of' the supervisor on grounds that he was fired because of his union activity," along with mocking other prominent African American public figures. St. Christopher's students made sure to establish a class hierarchies within the white community as part of their culture of masculinity.

[282] St. Christopher's students resisted integration in the form of increased Confederate iconography, jokes about Civil Rights leaders and events, and a desire to distinguish themselves from middle and lower-class white men. Beginning in the 1960s, St. Christopher's School students and faculty increasingly flew the Confederate flag and tacked it to their walls. As late as the seventies when the first African American students matriculated in the Upper School, the school displayed the rebel flag along with those of other countries in the chapel. [283] For a senior gag day where students dressed up, one student dressed up as a Klansman and held up a Confederate flag with his friends.[284]

In addition to the proliferation of Confederate iconography that occurred in the sixties, St. Christopher's students made many jokes at the expense of Civil Rights leaders. These references tended to be brief and rarely amounted to anything more than a line or the caption of a picture. Some years, *The Pine Needle* came out with a comedic issue for April Fool's called *The Egg Noodle*. The top left corner of the front page of the satirical newspaper in 1966 read: "We Dedicate This Issue to the Honorable Martin Luther King."[285] One of the back pages of the 1965 *Raps & Taps* that summarized various political events that year gave out fake "awards" to notable figures. Students gave Civil Rights leader Malcolm X, the "Chicken Farmer of the Year Award" likely referring to his controversial comment that the chickens came home to roost following John F. Kennedy's assassination.[286] Members of the Nation of Islam had shot and killed Malcolm X months before students published this edition of the *Raps & Taps*.

[282] St. Christopher's School, *Raps & Taps* (Richmond, Virginia:1967), 36, St. Christopher's School Archives.
[283] St. Christopher's School, *Raps & Taps* (Richmond, Virginia:1974), 141, St. Christopher's School Archives.
[284] *The Pine Needle*, April 21 1967, 3.
[285] Pine Needle Editorial Staff, *The Egg Noodle*, April 1, 1966, 1.
[286] Manning Marable and Garrett Felber, *The Portable Malcolm X Reader* (New York: Penguin Books, 2013), 280.

The page also awarded African American member of the House of Representatives Adam Clayton Powell "The Editors Award for Finesse," in reference to his recent corruption scandal. [287] Editors of the yearbook also chose to caption casual photos of school life comedic references to the Civil Rights movement in yearbooks of the 1960s. One picture in which students are sprawled out on a country road on top of each other has caption, "The Road to Selma."[288] Another picture of a row of Lower School boys reads: "A Sit-In Strike."[289] Even when students acknowledged their classmate's active participation in white resistance, they treated it as a joke. In a comedic section of the yearbook where students envisioned each boy's future following graduation, they predicted that one would leave to "fight against Civil Rights."[290] Most of the reactions of St. Christopher's to the racial integration of public schools and potentially their own were manifested in jokes about the Civil Rights movement.

When St. Christopher's students responded to the Civil Rights movement, massive resistance, or school desegregation in opinion pieces in the local paper and *The Pine Needle*, they did not respond as aggressively as they did to the gender integration of their school. One explanation for this is St. Christopher's students wished to distinguish themselves from lower-class whites, or did not fear that their school would be affected since only affluent whites could afford the tuition. St. Christopher's student Frank McCollough told *The Richmond Times Dispatch* in 1958 that his classmates were "far from eager for integration but ready to accept it," noting that "most students...feel that integration is inevitable." [291] McCollough added that "a few" students thought that St. Christopher's should "take a lead in integration" as the students

[287] St. Christopher's School, *Raps & Taps* (Richmond, Virginia:1965), 149, St. Christopher's School Archives.
[288] St. Christopher's School, *Raps & Taps* (Richmond, Virginia:1965), 149, St. Christopher's School Archives.
[289] St. Christopher's School, *Raps & Taps* (Richmond, Virginia:1967), 92, St. Christopher's School Archives.
[290] St. Christopher's School, *Raps & Taps* (Richmond, Virginia:1968), 53, St. Christopher's School Archives.
[291] W.T.M. Grigg, "Ready to Integrate, Six Students Say," *The Richmond Times Dispatch*, April 22nd 1958,7.

were sons of leaders and would grow up to be them, in addition to the fact that the school was a church school.[292] McCollough's comments illustrate how prominent leaders in Virginia and Richmond politics were either alumni of St. Christopher's or had sons who went to the school, which may have affected how they chose to address racial integration in the state.[293]

One debate in the school literary magazine addressed racial integration head on, featuring two essays on integration—one in favor and one against. Robert H. Lamb, who wrote in favor of segregation, spoke about racial hierarchies, scientific racism, and the segregation of public spaces instead of using examples of what might change specifically at St. Christopher's following integration.[294] Dennis Bigelow, who wrote in favor of integration, illustrated more abstractly the unalienable rights and the power of African Americans asserting their legal equality, than how St. Christopher's may encourage integration.[295] By 1967, the editors of *The Pine Needle* addressed white segregationist George Wallace's campaign visit to Virginia. They made it clear that they opposed George Wallace's campaign for presidency. Writing that Wallace's philosophy of racism was "ugly," they argued Wallace posed a threat to all of "the progress in the field of civil rights...could be washed away by a sea of race hatred and backwoods ignorance.''[296] St. Christopher's boys aligned with a sense of national progress and urbane intellectual opposition to Wallace's racism that they branded as uneducated and rural. Characterizing Wallace as a "bigot from Alabama" supported by "rednecks and racists," again shows how St. Christopher's boys sought to distance themselves from lower and middle class

[292] Ibid., 7.
[293] One notable figure in Richmond and Virginia's battle over school desegregation was Lewis F. Powell, who served as chairman of the Richmond school board from 1952-1961 and later on the U.S. Supreme Court, and whose son attended St. Christopher's for seven years and graduated in 1970.
[294] Robert H. Lamb, "Reasons for Ethnic Separation," *St. Christopher's School Literary Magazine*, April 1961, 22-4.
[295]Dennis Bigelow, "Integration: A Social Necessity and a Righteous Cause," *St. Christopher's School Literary Magazine*, April 1961, 25-7.
[296] Pine Needle Editorial Staff, "The Wallace Threat," *The Pine Needle*, September 29, 1967, 2.

whites who continued to resist integration. St. Christopher's students distinguished themselves from lower-class white men by condemning figures like Wallace as racist while their school was still all-white. By 1968, St. Christopher's admitted two African American boys in the Lower School. It is likely that the school was conscious about how other schools in the National Association of Independent Schools would perceive them if they remained segregated, as Michelle Purdy's scholarship on a similar school in Atlanta has argued.[297] It is possible that these boys' entrance into the Lower School was perceived as less threatening than St. Catherine's students entering the Upper School, as the Lower School had played less of a role in manufacturing masculinity than the Upper School did. Looking at school yearbooks and newspapers, St. Christopher's students felt more threatened by a co-ed environment than a racially integrated one.

Chapter Conclusion

Although St. Christopher's students made clear their dedication to white supremacy through Confederate symbolism and by mocking the Civil Rights movement, the rhetoric they employed to address racial integration at their school was less militant than their critique of women who were taking courses on their campus. St. Christopher's students appropriated the language of Virginia's massive resistance in response to the news that St. Catherine's students would attend classes as their school, increasingly objectifying women in their school publications as a means to exclude women from representation in their new roles as students on the St. Christopher's campus. Reasons for this were probably due to St. Christopher's having been coded as a male gendered space, and women from a similar socioeconomic background threatened the authority of this space if they had equal access to it. The more muted reaction of

[297] Purdy, 6.

St. Christopher's students to racial integration was likely due to their desire to distinguish themselves from lower class white men. Additionally, the reality of racial economic inequality and zoning laws due to decades of Jim Crow in the state limited the enrollment of black students following the choice of the school to racially integrate. St. Catherine's students, with easier access to the school, had the potential to disrupt the gendered landscape of St. Christopher's that Chamberlayne had carefully established fifty years before.

Despite expanded academic opportunities for young women following the curriculum exchange, the program ultimately further entrenched a gendered curriculum at both schools. By offering only certain courses in the arts at St. Catherine's, those courses became implicitly coded as feminine in relation to courses solely offered at St. Christopher's in math and the sciences becoming implicitly coded as masculine. Before the curriculum merger both schools promoted different ideas about elite white masculinity and femininity, but the increased interaction between the schools exaggerated a gendered relationship between their curricula that solidified ideas about gender normativity with regard to the classes each school offered.

CONCLUSION

St. Christopher's School provides a case study for understanding how educators and students created and remade upper-class white masculinity in Virginia over the first half of the twentieth century. As a private school operated and attended by young men from wealthy white families in the state, St. Christopher's gender and racial authority remained unchallenged in its first fifty years. Unlike many other all-boys boarding schools across the country and within the state, St. Christopher's model included elementary education and a brother-sister relationship with St. Catherine's. This organization created a gender division among its teachers and students inside and outside of the classroom. The proximity of women to this all-boys school helps highlight how the school cultivated masculinity along with the creation of a gender order.

The gender integration of St. Christopher's additionally offers insight into a time period in which white upper-class southern masculinity was in crisis. Historians of gender in the U.S. South have primarily focused on men otherwise left out of the historical record, or those whose hegemony was threatened by social or economic change, such as the racial integration of public schools. Cloistered away in private schools and clubs, upper-class men intentionally created white masculine spaces while continuously pointing back to their Confederate forefathers and when crafting an idealized notion of manhood. The reaction of St. Christopher's students to gender integration helps historicize upper-class masculinity in a group that otherwise sought to maintain a facade of a static idealized manhood legitimized by an air of historic longevity. Even more so than African American men, the presence of white women from St. Catherine's on their campus caused considerable unrest among the student body of St. Christopher's.

Chamberlayne's life and work as founder and headmaster of St. Christopher's School illustrates the connections between the Lost Cause, masculinity, and educational reform in the South during the Progressive Era. His use of Confederate symbols that glorified the antebellum past of Virginia to serve as part of school culture and traditions to fit the new country day school model, illustrates how Southern reformers adapted old social and racial ideologies to fit with their visions for the future of region as industrial and prosperous. Along with educators across the Northeast and South, Chamberlayne subscribed to Muscular Christianity, infusing his sermons with ideas about the relationship between manliness, faith and sportsmanship. He paired this preaching on manhood with the distinctly southern practice of citing Lee and Jackson as models of Christian character and faith.

Student clubs, school traditions, and curriculum provide insight into how both faculty and students participated in inculcating masculinity at the school. This process occurred both blatantly—through sports and teaching on gentlemanly behavior, and implicitly—through a gender division of labor and course offerings. The choice to merge the drama program with St. Catherine's before any academic subjects additionally exhibits how ideas about blurring the gender lines in theatrical performances changed over a short period of time. St. Christopher's created traditions to ground the school with a sense of history, while continuing to remake traditions to reflect ideas of normative gender at a certain time.

The curriculum exchange with St. Catherine's in the early sixties did not lead to a merging of St. Catherine's and St. Christopher's. St. Christopher's students fiercely defended their school as an exclusively male space—refusing to allow women cheerlead for them and making derogatory sexist comments about them in their school publications. The school accepted the first African American student in 1968, and in 1970 the school created a scholarship fund to

encourage students of color to attend the school.[298] Although students and faculty debated the importance of this fund, the student body fundraised for the fund. They argued for the importance of token integration, seeing the value of diversity as a tool for their future success as leaders and businessmen.[299] Token racial integration of elite private schools in the South was common at this time, but St. Christopher's dedication to maintaining their identity as an exclusively male school reflected how hegemonic masculinity functioned more broadly in Virginia politics in the seventies.[300] As African American men slowly gained political power within Richmond and the rest of Virginia, politically and socially influential white men selectively invited African American men into previously exclusively white male spaces, remaining verbally committed to denying women access to them.[301]

In recent decades, scholars of gender and the American South have favored voices of those previously excluded from the historical record. These studies have expanded our understanding of plural masculinities in the region over multiple decades, among different classes, races, ethnicities, and geographies. While scholarship continues to expand on elite white masculinity in the antebellum South, scholars of masculinity and the twentieth century South have often characterized elite white masculinity in the region reflected the maintenance of the antebellum social, racial, and economic order. This study of St. Christopher's school illustrates

[298] L.M. Parrott, Jr., "Teacher Defends Scholarship Fund," *The Pine Needle*, October 30, 1970, 2.
[299] L.O. Snead, "Minority Scholarship Fund Criticized," *The Pine Needle*, October 9, 1970, 2; Patrick Swaffer, "ESU Student Attacks Racism," *The Pine Needle*, June 1 1970, 2.
[300] Mosi Secret,"'The Way to Survive It Was To Make A's,'" *The New York Times Magazine*, Sep. 7, 2017. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/07/magazine/the-way-to-survive-it-was-to-make-as; In "Connell's Concept of Hegemonic Masculinity: A Critique" Demetrakis Z. Demetriou expands the definition of hegemonic masculinity, arguing that instead of merely dominating other masculinities, elements of marginalized masculinities are often incorporated into hegemonic masculinity to form what he defines as a "hybrid masculine *bloc*." He does so by citing examples of black and gay masculinities being incorporated into hegemonic masculinity. This adaptability, or "hybridization," Demetriou contends, is essential to the continued ascendancy of hegemonic masculinity.
[301] Karylyn Barker, "Bastion of Virginia Tradition," *The Washington Post*, September 18,1979, The Washington Post Archives.

how the school perpetuated these ideas about southern masculinity in Confederate commemoration, but it also provides a chance to see how gender regimes were in flux despite outward appeals to traditional antebellum southern manhood. Looking at a school is not only a way of illustrating the mechanics of this gender regime, but also a way to show how private all-boys schools inculcated masculinity and trained who they believed would be the next generation of Virginia's leaders.

This project would benefit greatly from a more comprehensive study of St. Catherine's to compliment the investigation of gender at St. Christopher's. St. Catherine's had a longer history, larger boarding department, and attracted students from across the country and world. Looking more closely at St. Catherine's would allow for greater analysis of the gendering of curriculum that occurred through the exchange program with St. Christopher's. Pushing the project further into the seventies along with this comparative study would open up the project to make stronger arguments regarding how this continued exchange of curriculum entrenched associations of masculinity or femininity with the subjects each school offered. Looking at the St. Catherine's school newspaper, *The Arcadian*, may also show how women reacted to how they were portrayed in St. Christopher's publications, and provide firsthand accounts of their experiences on the St. Christopher's campus. Presumably St. Catherine's faculty members monitored their school newspaper more closely than St. Christopher's did *The Pine Needle*, and may prove less useful as a source offering a forum for honest viewpoints.

I was aided by St. Christopher's willingness to allow me to go through most of their archive, and I believe that they granted me access due to my personal connection to the school. Their archivist advised me that St. Catherine's was more protective of their archives, and had a lot of it under lock and key. The reality that many private schools safely guard their archives is a

hindrance to historians investigating the history of these schools. Private schools mostly maintain archives to engage alumni and self promote. In the past year, journalists mined the yearbooks of Georgetown Preparatory School in North Bethesda, Maryland following the statement of Christine Blasey Ford that recounted how Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh sexually assaulted her during their high school years. The school became the subject of intense scrutiny as the country discussed the culture of all-boys private schools and sexual assault. Independent schools safeguard their images in order to increase enrollment and protect their alumni from criticism.

Aside from a desire to investigate perspectives not yet included in the historical record, historians have likely strayed from documenting masculinity and private school culture due to how all-male schools varied with regard to their organization, the geographic and economic background of their students, and how regional identity contributed to schools. Some historians have published critical histories of individual private schools, but the list is short. At least one case of a critical school history of an all-girls faced issues publishing when the administration of the school threatened to take legal action against the publisher.[302] Although some historians have attempted to synthesize trends among these schools, their investigations have focused more on the formation of class as opposed to gender.[303] Many of these schools have produced institutional histories to mark milestones, but these books lack critical historical analysis.

While the relatively more robust subfield of sociological studies of all-male private schools has wrestled with the question of whether these schools help create or merely reflect upper-class culture, future historical work will likely consider using these schools as sites of

[302] Mike Bowler, "Outsider takes scholarly look Bryn Mawr," *The Baltimore Sun*, May 30, 2004. Accessed 21 April 2019. The book they attempted to bar from publication was Andrea Hamilton, *A Vision For Girls: Gender, Education and the Bryn Mawr School.*
[303] Steinzig, 3-8.

gender investigation. Many of these schools educated future political leaders, businessmen, and socially prominent men. Investigating how they inculcated masculinity provides a lens into the changing masculinities of an upper class who tried to conceal these changes in an effort to claim that their power and authority was inherent.

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